





THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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THE CHALDEAN PERSEUS.

IN the last October number of the RECORD (vol. IV, p. 264) Mr. Pinches states that he found on a bilingual tablet the name of the hero *Istubar*, written *Gilgameš*. In this form of a mere statement, the assimilation would be of no great interest, as the name of Gilgames by itself would not give us a better known name than that of Istubar. But this is not the case: this very name is to be found in ancient literature. *Istubar* or *Istumas* cannot be assimilated to any ancient name, but the discovery of the Gilgamus in Ælian's zoological work (*De natura animalium*, XII, 21), explains completely the myth of the Chaldean hero.

Ælian says that the Babylonian king Sevechorus, counselled by the Chaldaean priests, put his daughter in a tower, locked her up, and had her watched by guardians: he would prevent his daughter from having any offspring that might become a danger to himself.

The Greek author compares Sevechorus with Acrisius, the father of Danae, mother of Persens. But the Babylonian princess had a child by an invisible man (*ὕπερ ἀνέρος ἀφανοῦς*), and the guardians fearing the wrath of the king, threw the child from the tower; an eagle saw it falling, and caught it by the neck before it reached the ground. This grandson of Sevechorus reigned over Babylonia under the name of Gilgames.

Sevechorus is probably identical with the Euechous of Berosus, the first post-diluvian king, who reigned 2400 years (41,697 till 39,297), somewhat long for one individual. The Chaldaean hero was therefore the grandson of the first monarch after the deluge, and the statement handed down to us by Ælian, explains why the father of Gilgames does never occur in the fragments of the well known epos. If we had the commence-

ment of the first twelve tablets, we could get some information on this subject, but it is very curious that a Greek writer on zoological matters fills up the gap in a very satisfactory manner.

Gilgames is therefore not Nimrod who gave his name to a country. Elam, like his father Cus and his uncle Misraim. He is the Chaldaean Perseus, whose history has a great affinity with that of the Babylonian warrior. Perseus flees from Argos with his mother to Polydectes, king of Seriphos, who in order to get rid of him, sends him to kill the Gorgons. Before he can perform this task, he visits the Graiae, three sisters with one eye and one tooth, and acquires from them and the Nymphs to whom he is led several objects necessary for his purpose, the making invisible cap, the oils, the mirror and the scythe, with which he cuts off the head of the Medusa. Returning to Seriphos, he delivers his mother persecuted by Polydectes, goes back to Argos, undertakes an expedition to Ethiopia, where he delivers Andromeda, and kills the monster to which the virgin is to be sacrificed. He was honoured as a god in Chemmis in Egypt, and Herodotus says, that when Perseus came to the Persians, the people of the Cephees changed the name into Persians. Perseus himself is represented with rather oriental arms. This Greek myth seems therefore to be of the same origin as the Chaldean one, modified by the different genius of the people, who changed the Chaldaean legend of Khombaba into that of Combabus.

The characters *iz-tumas* signify "a man with the prominent underlip." This peculiarity seems to be expressed in the Khorsabad sculptures representing this hero. The explanation of the name has been given by me already in 1875; the Sumerian *Gulgenmas* has been Assyrianised into Gilgames, name handed over to the Greeks, by the aid of whom we place the Chaldaean Perseus in his right position, and put definitely aside his identification with Nimrod.

J. OPPERT.

NOTE.—

In a lecture made at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, on the 5th of December, Prof. Oppert has established the true character of the Babylonian Persens. Prof. A. H. Sayce, in a letter on *The Hero of the Chaldean Epic* published in The Academy, Nov. 8, p. 421, had pointed out the passage of Aelian, and remarked that Gilgames was the prototype of Persens. On the other hand, Dr. William Hayes Ward, writing on the same subject in *The Academy*, Dec. 13, p. 570, calls attention to the fact that the scene of the child saved by the eagle while

falling is probably that which is represented on the cylinders described and illustrated (p. 243) in his article on *Sir Henry Peek's Oriental Cylinder*, published in the B. O. R., Oct. 1890. T. DE L.

I have been informed that even previously to my taking notice of the Sumerian equivalence, my learned friend had pointed out the well known passage of *Ælian*. I had no notice of Prof. Sayee's assimilation which was obvious to me *immediately after*, as to all scholars versed in Oriental antiquities. J. O.

THE LYDIAN LEGEND ON FOUR COINS OF ALYATTES.

M. Six has recently treated in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. X, third series, pp. 185-259, of a great number of Greek unedited and uncertain Coins. But among the most interesting objects there is nothing which exceeds in attractiveness the Lydian pieces of Alyattes and his predecessors, described in § xi. The long reign of Alyattes (57 years) was eminently favourable to an abundant issue of coins, which were for a long time recognised and attributed to the father of Croesus: it is enough to recall the names of François Lenormant, Brandis, and M. Head: everywhere something remained to be said. M. Six has said it by pointing out to the left of the lion's head, some copies preserved in the cabinets of France, Vienna and Munich, and in the British Museum (Nos. 10-13), a legend more or less complete presenting the name of the King of Lydia.

The name is written in the archaic Greek letters which the Phrygians have used during the pre-Achæan period. Here then is *Lydian writing* discovered, of which we desire to consider as a specimen the fragment known since 1876, of an inscription which is traced on the base of a column found in the temple of Ephesus by M. Wood (see *Transact. of*

the Soc. of Bibl. Archæol., IV, pp. 334, 335), that is to say, these five letters:

Τ Η Ι Ι Ι

The name of Alyattes, such as we may gather it from his legends, was written thus:

Τ Η [Τ] Ι Ι Ι Ι Ι

it may be, in regular Greek letters, and by transcribing from left to right:

ΤΑΛΦΕΙΑΤΕΣ.

The numismatic scholar has commented on this indigenous form of a name known to Herodotus by the expected loss of the first digamma. **ΑΛΥΑΤΗΣ.** But it is more embarrassing to give an account of the disappearance of the letters **ΕΙ**, altogether extraordinary in its effect. If one letter should have disappeared it would have been the second digamma, while we see that it is replaced by the upsilon. The Cypriote King Evelthon, of whom we have some coins with his legend in syllabics *E-r-re-l-th-ə-n*, was found by transcription *Eveλθων*, where the upsilon in no way replaces the digamma of the third character. Likewise, the name of *Ταλφειατες* ought to be *Αλειατης* with *ει* = *αι*, like the Phrygian *Εανακτητης* = *ανακτητης*. It would perhaps be so, and *ει* would have been taken by an ancient copyist for *αι*. On this hypothesis, one could compare to the Lydian *Αλειατης* the Carian *Οχιατος*, chief of Mylasa, according to Herodotus. Besides, there are many Carian names which are identical with the Lydian names, *Πακτνας*, *Τερηης*, *Καρεανλης* among others. This last name became among the Lycians *Κοριαλος* (*Khūtlā* Xanthus 8) and at Monit Sipylus *Ταυταλος*, by the substitution of *T* for the guttural *K* (or *χ*). By this substitution *I* can produce the form *τεροι* from the name of *χεροι* upon a Lycian obelisk, the variant *Πιτρηης* for *Ηακρηης* in the list of the tributaries of Athens, &c.

Lastly, to omit nothing, I shall give the following drawing, the possession of which I owe to Prof. Sayee :

Τ Η Ι Ι Ι Ι Ι Η Τ

Τ Η Λ Α Π Α Θ Ε
Λ Θ Η Α Π Ι Φ Ι Τ

This inscription is engraved on a little green stone acquired by M. Greville Chester at Smyrna in 1888; the stone would have been found at Sardis. Is it Lydian? Why not?

J. IMBERT.

THE SILK GODDESS OF CHINA
AND HER LEGEND.

(Concluded from Vol. IV., p. 290).

IV.

FORMATION OF THE LEGEND OF THE GODDESS SI-LING SHE
THE GRAND-MOTHER OF THREAD.

40. When Szema Tsien and his father compiled in the second century B.C. the materials of the *She ki*, they came across documents giving to the first wife of Hwang-ti the traditional name of *Lui tsu* 奉累 祖 which they reproduced accordingly in their history⁹⁹, without any intimation as to the possible meaning which could be inferred from the ideographical value of the symbols composing that written name. It seems that previously the first symbol was simply written 累 and that the addition of the determinative woman was their own,¹⁰⁰ according to a practice then current to avoid misconceptions. The simple symbol was phonetically employed as a proper name and its meaning was left vague and undefined. Nothing is said by the Szemas as to the spinning and weaving inventions attributed in after ages to *Lui tsu* and her lord.

41. But subsequently when rationalists began in the following centuries to ponder over the shreds of record, saved from the remotest times, they endeavoured to read behind the written words and to guess through the ideographical meanings inherent to the characters of the writing, statements hitherto hidden to view. The result was to see that the original meaning of 累 *lui*, to bind was that of thread, and therefore that the name of *Lui* 奉累 once deprived of the determinative of woman its latest adjunct¹⁰¹, and combined with 祖, *tsu*, grand-parent, was obviously the depository of a tradition hitherto concealed from the gaze of former historians. The notion that the first wife of Hwang-ti was the grand-mother-of-thread was thus revealed, and forms an interesting instance of script-myth, a phenomenon which has not as yet received its share of attention from the investigators of the history of culture among populations having a hieroglyphic or ideographic writing. This supposed information entailed the formation of a popular legend making the wife of

the first ruler necessarily busy with the silkworms, like so many other housewives in the silk-producing provinces, and the queens of former kings, as shewn and regulated by the traditional rites.

42. But I do not find the fact given as historical before Liu Shu, the collaborator of Szema Kwang, author of the *Tung kien*, published in 1080. This writer compiled a history, much esteemed and entitled *Wei ki*, from the most remote times, in which his purpose was to record all that is not stated in the classics.¹⁰² and where we find the following statement:¹⁰³

.. Siling she, the Empress of Hwang-ti, began to rear silkworms:
"At this period Hwang-ti invented the art of making cloth."

And thus has grown the legend which since has been looked upon as genuine history.

43. None of the classics and historical works which we have referred to in these pages, has any mention of *Siling-she*, alias *Lui-tsu* or grandmother of thread, alias *Si'en ts'an* or ancient silkworm, alias *Yuen fei* or first wife, as the goddess of sericulture. The *Si'en Ts'an* which are referred to in a spurious passage of the *Li ki* which we have quoted in a previous paragraph (31), were not understood then as applied to the silkworms reared by the first wife of Hwang-ti, neither by a trope of speech to this fabled personage. The oldest reference to worship of such a goddess is that of the Tsin dynasty, probably in 344 A.D., but then no name is given, and we have found reason to believe that Si-ling she was not the deity worshipped by the Tsin Empress. Her legend was still in a state of formation. It had not yet reached a sufficient degree of authority, and as a fact was not to reach for nearly eight centuries the official standing from which the personality of the Grandmother of thread imposed itself on the Imperial attention, with deification and worship as a natural consequence, and the annual state sacrifice of the present time.

44. The claims of Hwang-ti and his Queen to the honour of being the first silk culturists are looked upon as little established even by Chinese writers; Hwan Tan, for instance, went so far as to suggest that an earlier ruler Shen-nung, the Mythical husbandman Emperor, was really the first who had ever made a *K'ien* lute in *t'ung*; wood, and twisted silk for the strings.¹⁰⁴ The suggestion, of course, is valueless in itself, but it shews the little confidence of some Chinese in the story of Siling-she.

45. Lui-tsu is said by the traditional history to have been a daughter from the clan of Si-ling; the name being at the same time that of her

native country. We may as well state here, previously to any enquiry, that there is no possible connection between this Si-ling and the *Si-ling ipsius litteris*, which was the name in Hup eh,¹⁰⁵ applied under the Han dynasty, to the region of the Mu-ling range of the present day in the N.E. of the province. As it was substituted only at that time for several names which were different before, there is no possibility of any connection with the personal name of Yuen-fei.

As a fact *Si-ling*, meaning literally West hills,¹⁰⁶ might not suggest any special region, and may have been applied to a mountainous tract anywhere provided it be consistent with the geographical location of the interested writer. The matter requires a greater precision than we have hitherto found in the statements quoted on the subject.

46. The *Si-ling* name of the original country of Lui-tsu, has not yet been identified, and therefore we may as well make an attempt at elucidating this point of mythical geography, and enquire as to the possibility that it should really indicate a region where silk industry was already in existence before the arrival of the Chinese Bak tribes. It would be quite in the natural order of things that the Chinese leader should have married a daughter of the country, who being acquainted with the industry of her native land, should have taught the rearing of silkworms and the winding of the silk to the followers of her lord and master. Unhappily for the veracity of the legend, sericulture was not known in *Si-ling*.

47. In the *Er-yü*, section of the land¹⁰⁷, the ancient *lings* are briefly indicated thus : the *Tung ling* or East hills are *Sin*¹⁰⁸; the *Nan ling* or South hills are the *Sik shen*¹⁰⁹; the *Si ling* or West hills are the *Wei* barbarians (which we shall refer to hereafter); the *Tehung ling* or Central hills are the *Tchu t'eng*; the *Peh ling* or North hills are the West Yü, it is the *Yen* gate (in N. Shansi).

48. The *Wei* barbarians¹¹⁰ mentioned therein are known in other works, and their settlements were in the immediate south of the present department of Tsing-ning in S. E. Kansuh¹¹¹. The information is consistent with that derived from the Book of Mountains and Seas, which shows that the Si-ling or western hills of the story were to be sought for in the mountain ranges of the North-west. And as these mountains, being simply the spurs of the Kuen-lun range, extend eastwards, running from the west and passing at proximity of the *Heh shui*¹¹² of the story, the identification is sufficiently accurate in its broad lines, and we cannot expect a greater precision in a statement of legendary geography.

49. But had the legend any slight foundation like that we have suggested, § 46, it must have lingered in popular minds quite outside the range of literature. The fact does not seem improbable, as records of this folklore and belief may have disappeared in one or the other of the five great bibliothecal catastrophes which have made of the ancient literature of China a mere wreck. However the hypothesis seems difficult to maintain with the positive statements and allusions we have collected which show vagueness of former beliefs about the protective genii of silk and silkworms. Moreover, the geographical information gathered in the first part of this paper (§§ 3-21) show reason to believe that silkworms did not exist in the N.W. of China until later times, and therefore that during the period of their earliest settlements in Kansuh and Shensi, the immigrating tribes under the leadership of Hwang-ti, who married a girl of Si-ling in that region, cannot have been made acquainted by her with the art of sericulture.

CONCLUSION.

50. The outcome of the foregoing paper, about the history and legend of Si-ling she as the real inventor of the silk industry, is that they have no historical foundation. It is another instance of the ways and means which have contributed to the formation of the modern Pantheon of the Chinese. In the few ancient accounts of innovations and inventions attributed to the rulers of the legendary period, such as Hwang-ti and others, accounts which are found in the great Appendix to the Book of Changes,¹¹³ the authorship of which is attributed to Confucius through the pencil of a disciple, and in the fragments of older times added to the Book of mountains and seas¹¹⁴ during the Han period, no allusion whatever is made to the invention of the silk industry. This silence, to say the least, is very significant, as it concerns a most ancient and most prominent industry of China which was entitled to a special mention should the legend attributing its invention to Hwang-ti and his wife have existed at the time when these accounts were compiled. It may be taken as a concurring and final proof that silk culture was not a Chinese invention, and was proper to the pre-Chinese populations of the country, particularly in the east, as shewn by the geographical and historical data collected in these pages.

The whole evidence concurs to show that it was only when the civilised chieftains of the Bak families arriving from the West, advanced eastwards and intermarried with girls of the native tribes, that they became acquain-

ted with the sericulture which was in after ages looked upon in their traditions as special to their primitive wives in the country without geographical distinction between the west and the east of the Flowery Land. And it was in comparatively recent times that attempts were made at fostering a legend of invention of the sericulture on some special personage of history.

NOTES—

99) *She ki*, kiv. I, fol. 5.

100) It does not anyhow go further back than the *siao tchuen*, which is the style of writing employed during the last centuries preceding the Christian era. In my note on *The Oldest Chinese Characters*; The Academy, June 15, 1889, p. 416, I have given occasionally the history of this style of characters.

101) On the late adjunction of determinatives in many cases, cf. S.W., Bushell: *The Stone drums of the Chow dynasty*, 1874; T. de L. *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 25, n. 3; Introduction to *Historical Catalogue of Chinese Money*, part VI.

102) Cf. De Mailla, vol I Preface, p. xlvi.

103) Cf. Wells Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, vol. II, p. 32.

104) Hwan Tan, *Sin luu*. *Yuen Kien lui hun* Kiv. 366, fol. 22.—*Ta ping yü lan*, Kiv. 814, fol. 3.

105) Cf. in G. Playfair. *Cities and towns of China*, Nos. 2426, 2432 2658, 1731, 8926.

106) The *Er-ya* says: 'a great mound is called a ling: *ta jou queh ling*.

107) *Er-ya* *tcheng wen tcheh yu*, ed. 1861; II. 9.

108) Position and meaning unknown in geography.

109) This is a known variant for the name of the Djurtchen. Cf. my paper on *The Djurtchen of Mandshuria*, par. 3. But I do not know any other document stating their advance in ancient times southwards at a sufficient proximity to a hill-range, which could be under any aspect looked as south of the ancient Chinese. I am afraid an error must have crept in there. The character *shen* may have been mistaken for *tcheng* town as there was a small state of that same name, *Sik*, in Honan, mentioned in the *Tsotchuen*, Duke Yn. year XI, which by its position answers the requirement pretty well.

110) The term used is *Y* in the first case, and *Jcxg* in the second; but the distinction which their difference conveyed in former times was lost when that part of the *Er-ya* was compiled.

111) Cf. Playfair, *The Cities and towns of China*, Nos. 7978 and 1183, *Tsing-ning*, lat. 35°35'; long. 105°45'.

112) Namely the Etsina river, east of Su-tehou in Kansuh, which from the slopes of the Nan-shan range runs northwards to the small lakes called *Sobo nor* and *Sogok nor*.

113) *Yh-king*: hi-tze., pt. 2.

114) *Shan ha king*. Bk. 18.

ERRATA: — —

§ 1, l. 3, *for ts'en tsan tao read sien ts'an tao*
 .. 5, l. 13, *for oldest read eldest*
 .. 8, l. 3, *after spoken of read: as there was no occasion to make a distinction between the *wu* and *kung* (cf. §15).*
 .. 9, l. 6, *for trings read strings.*
 .. 12, l. 1, *for King-tea u read King-tehou*
 .. 15, l. 7, *for no silk read no silk*
 .. 18, l. 8, *for that silk was read that silk only was*
 .. 19, l. 6, *for of Shensi read of in Shensi*
 Note 18, *for five different read five different*
 .. 26, *for K'iusion read K'iusion*
 .. 39, *for Pa- read Pau-*
 .. 47, *for devided read divided*
 § 27, l. 11, *for pennows read pennions*
 .. 31, l. 12, *for Tt'an read Ts'an*
 .. 38, l. 8, *for apply read applied*

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

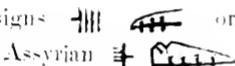
THE LOVANOFF SEAL.

I.

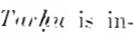
For the reading of the Hittite legend, we propose, after AMIATD, Z. A. I., 282, the following order: behind the king, from top to bottom, *a sign by line*, in the order of the bases: in front of the king, the same principle, but as the second and third signs (the barbed lozenge and ) are thought to be found upon *a similar horizontal line* by the *boustrophedon* character of the writing, the sign  and the following one have a direction opposite to that of the same signs *ris-à-ris*. This would be so likewise as to the two last, if they were capable of it.

It is a long time since the double obelisk has been assimilated to the Assyrian  (*mât*). In fact the second last Hittite sign recalls the archaic  of Gudea, with this difference that the Assyrian or Babylonian obelisks were placed horizontally.

Why not henceforth assimilate the simple obelisk which follows the resumed determinative of *country*, and which ought to conceal a proper geographical name, to   , archaic Assyrian, and which give the values SU, ZU, SU. Yet at this point the obelisk is horizontal in place of the vertical positions which it has in the Hittite. (Is the Assyrian  never written  (*leg*) *aldu*?) SU is the name of a country to

the West or North of Assyria. The two Hittite signs  permit us easily to recognise the archaic Assyrian  "great man" = *king*, the adjective preceding the Hittite name, as in the complex Assyrian.

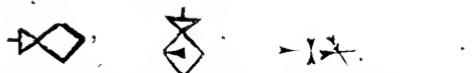
In the Assyrian sign *gal*, there are besides *your* horizontal strokes which in the corresponding Hittite sign, are vertical.

The buck's or antelope's head recalls *Turahu*,  *Turahu* is indeed a divine name. Was the ideogram *Turahu* not that of Ea, as the antelope was perhaps his symbol?

In the countries to the west of Assyria and in Nairi Ea was known. See *Mitam.*, Z. A., V. 261.

This ideogram  of which we have not the archaic form, is perhaps derived from a hieroglyph *antelope's head*. *Turqâ hu)timme* would be a construct noun like *Ea-bani*, &c.

The sign *tim*, barbed lozenge, (yoke?) is more difficult to assimilate. The corresponding Assyrian would be:



The Hittite legend would signify altogether: *Turqâtimme, king of the country of Su.*

II.

In adopting an idea of AMIAUD, Z. A. v. 279, according to our view, the first sign of the cuneiform legend is the sign *me*.

"Since the first line of the Hittite inscription representing a buck's head is placed naturally above to the right and left of the king's head, it appears therefore that the first sign of the cuneiform inscription ought to be also found above and at the right hand of the king's head, a little nearer above the first sign of the Hittite inscription on the right. Moreover, just above the head of the king, a very marked gap, and the only one which is found elsewhere, has been left in the cuneiform legend."

Prof. Sayce's explanation (Z. A. I. 330) does not appear conclusive against that opinion.

A negative reason is added to our argument. If it be necessary to place the commencement of the cuneiform lines after the sign *me*, they obtain at the end of the legend the name of a country, which no tentative has succeeded in identifying: *Ea? me!*

We read then: *Mé Tarqútimme (šar mó̄t) Zu.*

There is nothing strange in reading *Zu* or *Šu*, the last sign, which sensibly approaches the ordinary . The slight difference appears when we compare the other signs of the legend with the corresponding signs of the usual writing.

Thus for the remainder. Mr. Tyler has already read (*P. S. B. A.*, IV. Nov. 2) *T., king of the country of Zume*, and is connected with the name *Zazim*, Gen. XIV, 5.

From this point we willingly recognise that there is no matter here of an Assyrian language. *Šur* and *mít* as ideograms may agree with every Assyrian reading. Proper names are not translated but transcribed.

Mé is the only word which may neither be ideographic nor a proper name, and consequently the one which really represents to us the language of the cuneiform inscription. As a long syllable, *me-e* is distinguished completely from *me*, a sort of Hittite minimation.

What is the country or *ZU*, *ŠU*, or even *SU*? The Vannic inscription of Palu (D. H. Muller, *A. D.*, p. 14) points out a country of that name:

1. . . . karuni Puteri-ani
2. nie, karanni Huzan-âni
3. nie, karuni Šu (Zu, Su)-wani ()

“Sie verliehen mir von der Stadt Páteri [Paitira (T. P. V. 77) Paddir,? (S. R. IV. 7) Pituru?] das Gebiet, von der Stadt Guzan das Gebiet, sie verliehen mir das Land ŠU—.”

We know that the Assyrian syllabaries furnish some words of the language of *Su*.

Cf. K. 1359, 39, b. 1. *Tar̄qumalapí, amélu šaknu Su-aya*, (A. V. 807).

That the country called *Zu* or *Šu* could have been named *Šu* by the Assyrians is not extraordinary. *Z* is the softening of *S* as *Š* is the emphatic of it. Likewise in the writing *zu*, *šu*,  comes from  or vice versa.

Some languages which we know from other sources to be related to the language of *Su*, like that of Van and Mitanni, a country bordering on *Su* (and it is a proof *a posteriori* of the justice of our reading *mé . . . SU*) permit any attempt to explain the word *mé*.

As to what is of this class, see SAYCE, Z. A., V. 270; IV. 382, 384.

Does *me* not correspond to *andku* (cf. Sayce Z. A., V. 381, who rejects it.)

We have in *Mitanni* a suffix sg. of the first person *UE*, *WE*, which

might very well be affirmed in *me* as pronoun subject of the person, in the sister language. SAYCE (Z. A., V. 265) recognises in *māna* a pronoun of the first person." JENSEN (Z. A., V. 265) hesitates to render *māna* - (*tāmān* by "Ich" because of the want (presumed!) of relation between *ne*, *me* and *man*. According to BRUNNOW (Z. A., V. 218, 219, 228), *mānam* would be the plur. suff. of the first person.

The Vannie also gives a plausible solution of this subject.

Ma signifies in that tongue, 'He,' 'him', 'that person'.

It has also the meaning, 'being', 'person', *bunānā*.

The accusative of *ma* is *māni*.

The same word has the spelling *mā* with flexions *māi*, *māini*.

Mē alternates with the word *turi*, from which the meaning of 'person' is acquired. *Turi* also explains the Assyrian *šānatu* (Cf. D. H. Muller, A.D. p. 14, 15, &c.)

In Vannie the pronoun of the 3rd person has therefore the value of *bunānā*, *salām*. As the Egyptian sometimes renders inversely the 1st person *ego*, simply by the image of the subject: man, woman, king, &c.,

Mē Tarqūtinme (šar māt) Zu, would be: "Likeness of Tarqūtimme king of Su."

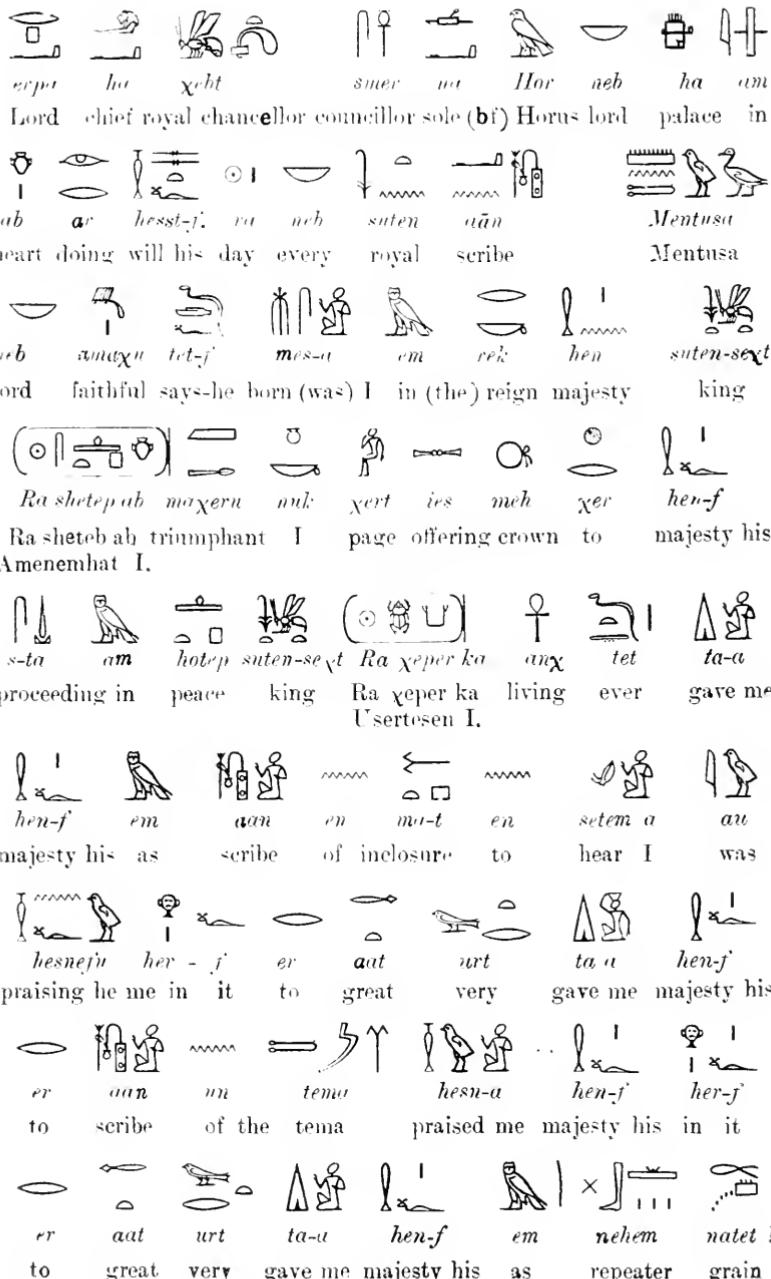
The kingdom of *Su* probably comprehends the Hittite country as its principal part, and it was the king of the Hittites who had supreme authority in both countries.

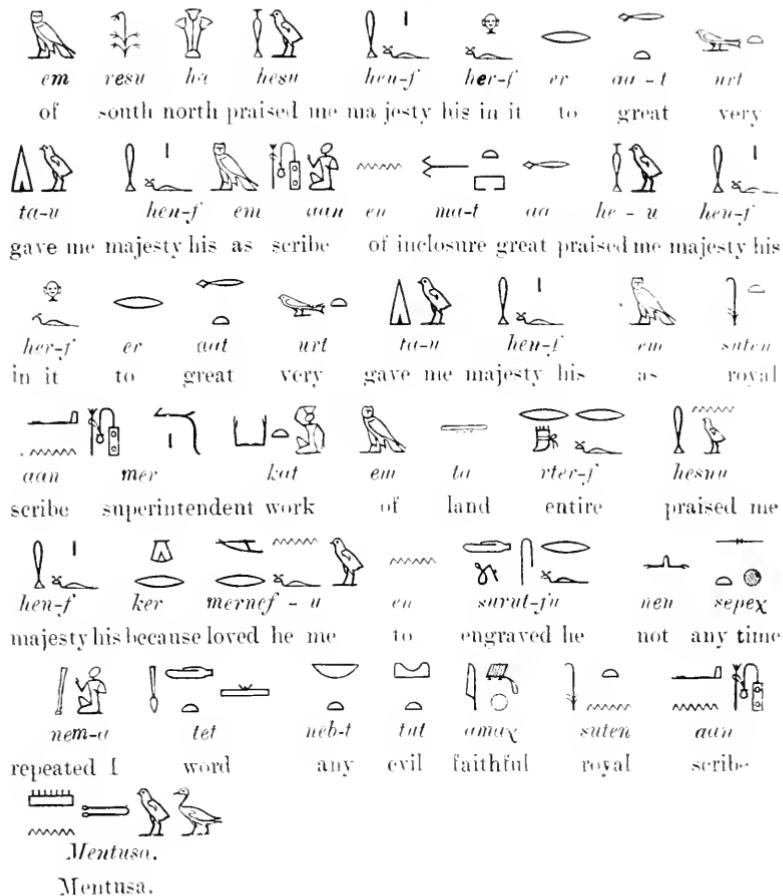
FR. v. SCHEIL.

TABLET OF MENTUSA (DYN. XII).

{  III
renpa  emet
Year three

          
xer hen suten-sext Ra nub kau tu anx ra ma
Of the Majesty (of the) king Ra nub-kau giving life sun like
Amenemhat II.





FREE TRANSLATION.

In the third year of his majesty the king Ra nubkau giving life like the sun. The Lord Chief Royal Councillor, sole counsellor of Horus, lord of the palace, in the heart doing his will daily, the royal scribe Mentusa a faithful lord, says, I was born in the reign of the majesty of the king, the Sun peaceful of heart (Amenemhat.) the triumphant. I was as a page offering a crown to his majesty proceeding in peace, the king Ra xepar Ka giving life. His Majesty gave me a place as scribe of the inclosure. I hear that his Majesty praised me while in it very, very much. His Majesty gave me the place of scribe of the mat; his Majesty pleased me while in it very, very much. His Majesty gave me the place of Re-

peater of Grain of the South and the North: his Majesty praised me while in it very, very much. His Majesty gave me the place of scribe of the great inclosure: His Majesty praised me while in it very, very much; His Majesty gave me the place of Royal Scribe and Superintendent of work throughout the whole land; His Majesty praised me because he loved me; I did not repeat at any time any bad word the Royal Scribe Mentusa.

The tablet of which the above is a copy is No. 828 in the British Museum. Mentusa, the person for whom it was written, held various important appointments under the king, Ra χ eper ka (Useresen I.) after the usual titles of a dignitary Mentusa, begins by introducing himself as born in the reign of Ra shetep-ab (Amenemha I.), and goes on to say that he was in the service of Ra χ eper ka (Useresen I.) as a page, after having held this office for some time he was promoted to be scribe of the  ma-t, a place which I have been forced to translate "inclosure," though some Egyptologists translate it "barem," a reading with which I cannot agree. Another appointment is then conferred upon him, namely, that of scribe of the  tema, which I have left, though very reluctantly in its original state, as I fail to find any value for it, the construction of "storehouse" having been doubted. Mentusa is again promoted this time to fill the office of "repeater of bushels," an appointment which probably was in the Statistical Department of the Ministry of Agriculture; in this capacity his authority extended over the North and the South. Another appointment follows which does not call for any comment. The sixth and last appointment was one of great importance in this stage of his career: he is given the post of Royal Scribe and Superintendent of work throughout the whole land.

It will therefore be seen that this tablet is of great importance from a chronological point of view, as it shows us that the monarchs Ra-shetep-ab, Ra χ eper-ka, and Ra nub kan must have followed one another in regular succession, or else I fail to see how Mentusa could have been born in the reign of Amenemhat I., held office in that of Useresen I., and died in that of Amenemhat II. Lastly, I would mention two words the readings of which seems to be doubtful. The first of these is  which I have translated "repeater": this word, I think, was intended for  namely, the bull's foot instead of the human foot, as it appears

to come from a second time, to repeat.

The other is this I take to be surnt-f. "he engraved." The right place for the hand in that case would be between and , the word then being but, as is well known, the sculpturer was not of necessity an educated person, and also as the lapidary style paid great attention to matters of symmetry the position may be understood; but nevertheless, I fail to see what connection it has with the rest of the text.

H. W. MENGEDOHT.

ON THE SYRIAC WORD .

Of the Persian origin of this Syriac word there is no doubt, and in his *Dictionary* Payne Smith has already quoted the reference with the Persian of Vullers and Lagarde. But, when the people themselves who have learned any word from another acknowledge such an original derivation, their testimony bears a great interest for historical philology, and not one opportunity, I think, must be neglected to collect such cases with care.

Now I have just read in the Life of Paul, Bishop of Tela, preserved in the MSS. Add. 14622, fol. 153v, of the British Museum, of which a copy lies before me, this curious passage: viz.: And what he was interrogated by these whom they name in their languages , that is to say, in the Convent of the great.

For complete explanation of this passage, it is to be remembered that Paul of Tela had been arrested by his enemies and led before the Justice-court of the Persian pagans and Magi But the Syriac writer explains the word , which he says was used among the Persians to explain the Syriac term "assembly," "convention."

The prototype of the Persian word is, as we know, the Avestian *haŋjamana*, in Pehlevi *haŋjamaw* in Sanskrit *sangamana*.

J. VAN DEN GHEYN.

THE TAN SHU.

The fragment which we present here to the readers of the RECORD, is extracted from the *I-li-king-tchuen*, or the *I-li* completed by order and under the direction of the Emperor Kien-long, as has been said in a foregoing paper on this subject in the *Journal Asiatique*.

It forms part of the *Wai pien* or "exterior book", an appendix added to the annotated text of the ancient ritual. It is a curious monument of Chinese antiquity, a waif escaped from the shipwreck of the books anterior to the Tsin.

The *Tan shu*, or "Red Book", is a fragment of a collection of rites under the name of *Tu-Tai-li*, or rites of *Tai*, the greatest and oldest.

We must recall that at the epoch of the restoration of the canonical Books, under the first Hans, *litterati*, all penetrated still by the Confucian spirit, strove to cause the revival of the abolished rites, condemned by the great enemy of the classical recollections, the Emperor Shi-Hoang-ti. The rituals no longer existed, they had been burned by order of the all-powerful sovereign who saw in them certain rules destructive of his despotic authority, and the autocracy he desired to found. The successors of the scholars put to death by the despot, reproduced their recollections as well as they could, and re-edited different collections of ceremonial rules. Among their number they specially quote Kao-tang, author of the *Shi-li*, and the two *Tai*, of whom the eldest edited a great collection in 85 sections, abridged at a later date and reduced to 49 by his nephew, called *Tai* the younger or *Siao-Tai*.

Our *Tan-shu* is a waif preserved from the great Manual, with the *Hia-Siao-tcheng*, or 'Calendar of the Hias,' whose value is sufficiently known, it is nearly all which remains to us from the book of the eldest *Tai*, or at least which has been published up to this time. The *Tan-shu-si* has no great historic value; but it is by no means unworthy of being published and preserved; that is why we give a translation; it occupies two leaves of tome III. of the Kin-king I-liking tchuen¹, where it is accompanied by a short commentary which we give as a note, inasmuch as it does not repeat exactly the text. This latter presents some philological peculiarities worthy of attention.

As to the work of Tai the greater, its loss would not be at all regrettable, if we must believe what the editors of the K'ien lung's edition, say in the preface of four lines at the head of the text:

"The text of this book is found in the Manual of Rites of Ta-Tai. Now this is nothing but a chapter transmitted in an isolated form. The Ta-Tai-li contains a crowd of erroneous, incongruous, or useless, also very obscure things. That is why this fragment has been extracted and commented on."

Our chapter is not the Tan-shu itself, it is simply the principal object of it. The true Tan-shu was a book of counsel written, according to the tradition, by the first princees of the Chinese tribes Hoang-ti and Tchuen Heu. Its name signifies "red-vermillion book," and it arises doubtless from this, that vermillion was the colour of the cover. After the commentary the Red Book was the book of examination for the magistrates of the various orders.

The king who is spoken of in this fragment is the celebrated Wu Wang, founder of the Tcheou dynasty (1222 A.C.).

TRANSLATION OF THE TAN SHU.

Wu Wang, three days after having taken possession of the throne, called the Shis and the Ta-fus, and set this question before them: What is the essential rule for keeping² oneself, the good method³ of actions, how can one assure the perpetuity of his descent?

All the Ta-fus replied to him: We have not yet heard (that is, we know nothing of it). Then the king called Sze-shang-fu, and asked of him: Have the rules of conduct of Hoang-ti and of Tchien-heu³ been observed? In spite of (the troubles which have befallen me) my exhausting anxieties truly I cannot yet discover them. Sze-shang-fu replied to him: They are in the Tan-shu. The king desiring to hear it read, prepared himself by internal purification and fasting.⁴ Three days after, the king having taken his right crown,⁵ Sze-shang-fu equally carrying the *tuān mien* approached near the sovereign, holding in his hand the book and prepared to lean against the screen.⁶ The king went down to the bottom of the Taung, and kept himself turned toward the South. Sze-shang-fu said to him: The rule of the ancient kings was on no account to hold themselves turned toward the North.

The king went towards the West, turned to the South, and stopped, looking at the East. Sze-shang-fu, uttering the words of the Tan-shu, said: "He who by his respectful conduct triumphs over want of respect is

happy (is a cause of happiness). He who by his free and easy conduct brings it upon the respectful man, shall perish (make to perish). Justice, which triumphs over passions and desires, succeeds ; desires which triumph over justice and the principles, cause death (perish). Every matter which is not conducted with correctness⁷ is vicious⁸. Without respect, vigilant care, there is no rectitude. Vicious things shall perish.

Respect, vigilant care, is the principle of self guidance, the true method of action. By it one's posterity may be perpetuated. Such is the meaning of these words."

The king, having heard these words from the book, was as if seized with fear, and placed some sentences at the four corners of his mat. He caused an inscription to be placed on his seat, on his mirror, on his ewer, upon the pillar of the saloon, upon his staff, upon his girdle and sandals, upon his vases and plates, on the inner gate and the window, on his sword and his lance.

The inscription on the left side on the front of his mat, bore, "In pleasure and repose, keep watchfulness over yourself." That on the right side was thus conceived: "Do nothing of which you ought to repent." At the left hand behind this was written: "Although one may return or incline to the side, he never ought to relax himself." And on the right side: "Let them consider closely what they may change and correct¹¹".

Upon the seat this was written: "How admirable is self-respect! the mouth engenders pride; the mouth kills the mouth."

Upon the mirror: "Guard, keep what is before you, and watch what is behind you." On the basin: "It is better to plunge oneself into a gulf than among men¹². In a gulf one can yet swim and float; in the midst of men there is no means of escaping."

Upon the pillar: "Do not say, how shall I suffer some harm ? evil will come unexpectedly (屏然). Do not say, how shall I have such evil ? for misfortune will come upon you, great (terrible). Do not say: How does ruin await me ? for misfortune will increase more and more."

Upon the staff: "What danger in wrath and hatred!¹⁴ how many paths with uncertain features in the pleasures and enjoyment of the passions ! How does one forget himself in the riches and greatness!"

Upon the girdle: "Fire being extinguished (in the evening) compose your countenance: be firm and vigilant (in this): if you are so strongly and constantly, you will have a long life."¹⁶

Upon the slippers: "Maintain your zeal firmly: if you were active you will become rich."¹⁸

Upon the plates and cups: "While eating, keep yourself straight and firm;¹⁷ keep yourselves from self-indulgence; if you are very indulgent in this manner you will allow many faults."

Upon the interior door. "A good fame is difficult to acquire and easy to lose. Do not boast about what you know not, and pretend that you know it. Do not strive after what you cannot attain, and say that you will succeed. To trouble oneself in order to overcome difficulties is like to agitate the air with the hand, in order to produce wind and tempest. A saint himself is unable to succeed in it."

Upon the window: "Follow the season of heaven (conform thyself to its order, to its laws) in order to obtain the use of earthly blessings. Do with respect the acts of worship towards high heaven; by this worship anticipate the seasons (that they may be happy)."

Upon the sword: "Gird thyself with this sword to practise justice, when thou oughtst to do so, determined to practise virtue.²² If thou dost resist it, thou shalt perish."

Upon the bow: "The rule of prosperity, the means of silence,²³ is that one does not forget his own faults."²⁴

Upon the lance: "Raise thy lance; if for an instant even thou dost not know how to hold it, thou shalt end by covering thyself with shame."

Such are the words of warning which I have heard from the Only man to instruct and to put on guard my descendants.

NOTES—

1) 齊 *tsi*=齊 *tsá*.

2) 藏=守.

3) 行=達. to penetrate intellectually.

4) Originally the five Tis and the three Wangs had no different principles; their *morale* was quite fixed by their fundamental rules: they are summed up in these lines.

5) 端=正. 厂.

6) 屏 *e ran*=樹.

7) 強 *keoug*. This consists in conquering oneself, and his desires to follow justice. He who is not so is vicious.

8) Respect 敬 consists in preserving himself according to the moral rules: therefore without respect one is not right 正.

9) If people ruin themselves it is because they neglect these: respect implies the spirit of rectitude in everything. These words have an identical value.

10) 成書 refer to sententious terms, rules (*ja-yá*) (法語). These sentences are intended to serve as admonitions, as objects intended by a mission.

11) 代=殷 *yin*, to rule. In everything let people be vigilant and attentive; however little it may be, let it not be neglected by them. A mat has its opposite faces and sides; it can be turned and bent over the side; let them watch the seasonableness of its movements and its attitudes..

12) **眡=耻** That is the pivot, the principal cause of honour or of shame. The mouth which does not know respect for itself and others destroys itself and covers itself with shame. It is so also with the prince through the decrees which he carries, and the orders which he gives.

13) To spread oneself among men is the danger of the Great. These ideas of escaping danger, or of losing oneself, are represented either by the comparison of the swimmer who floats or plunges into the gulf.

14) The passion of anger, against whomsoever it may be, is dangerous in the extreme. When all the care is in the search for riches or greatness, when everyone is given to dissipation or pleasure: they violate the moral laws; it is a danger of extreme gravity. The staff serves to sustain one in a dangerous position, and to follow the route conveniently; that is why it has been chosen by Wu Wang for this warning.

15) When one even relaxes himself from a severe deportment, one must not neglect it faultily. When one retires to his apartments at night he first removes his girdle. Hence this inscription.

16) One ought to maintain his activity and his efforts steadily. By this he shall escape misery and finally obtain prosperity. The interior position of the shoes indicates so much the more the difficulty and the shame. Hence their choice for this lesson.

17) (自) **杖=植**. Litt. 'make yourself staff.' **達=縱**. The commentator adds that according to certain authors the last three sentences are not rhymed, but that according to others, 容 *yong* rhymes with 恭 *kong* 壽 *shou* with 富 *fu*, and 情 *kiao* with 達 *tao*.

18) **枝=特**. Without application, reflection is not firm, and business will not succeed. If in spite of this one says he is sufficiently fit to conduct them, sufficiently educated and intelligent, this will not allow him to prosper (支 to push forth his branches, or to hold firm).

19) A phrase so obscure that the commentator explains it thus: In misery and danger to think only of returning to his ease, 困厄苟安之意.

20) **搖** = not to shut, to guard strongly, completely and to move by an effort. A gate is a means of procuring security, tranquillity. That is why it is used for this inscription. 知 rhymned with 枝 and 搖 with 謀.

21) Those ought to be prevented by sacrifices and fasting. That was inscribed upon the window, because it was underneath the window that they made sacrifices, and meditated.

22) One ought to conform himself to the precepts of virtue in everything in which they command and appoint. This sentence is in correlative phrase.

23) When one knows his defects and his faults, one knows then how to humble or raise himself accordingly.

C. DE HARLEZ.

NOTE ON THE TAN SHU 丹書 OR RED BOOK OF
THE ANCIENT CHINESE.

Chinese literature speaks of two *Tan Shu* in Antiquity. Such a designation in the sixth century B.C. was applied in the States to a list of the criminals. In the XXIIIrd year of the Duke Siang of Lu, i.e. 501 B.C., the *Tso tchuen* has a curious entry about it. A slave Fei P'ao, whose name was inscribed on the *Tan shu*, makes a proposal to murder a powerful rebel, if the sovereign would consent to the burning of the objectionable book.

The other Red book mentioned is quite different in character. It was a book of counsels, of great renown in antiquity. The Annals of the Bamboo books record that, in his 22nd year, Si Peh or chief of the West, afterwards Wen Wang, the virtual founder of the Tchou dynasty, was presented with a copy of that work by Kiang Liu-shang, his future prime minister and Tai Kung Wang of Ts'i, when entering his services. According to the rectified chronology, this was in 1131 B.C. It was reputed to embody the moral teachings of the oldest sages of yore, and therefore those of Hwang-ti and Tchuen-hiüh. I know no other reference to this work in olden times, although I suspect that the following statement concerns it, as so precious a work must have been carefully preserved in the Royal Palace of the kings of Tchou, in the same way as were kept other treasures and reliques mentioned in history. The *Shu-king* (V.22:19), on the occasion of the funeral of King Tch'ing, enumerates all the precious things which were publicly exhibited, and among them figures a book of *Ta hsin* or Great instructions, which seems to be the same as that given to the grandfather of the deceased king, sixty-four years previously.

As to the reason why the Red Book was so called, it is a matter of conjecture. Perhaps it was only from its outward appearance. The silk cloth which used to envelop the slips of bamboo bark, on which it was then the habit to write with a graving knife, was perhaps in that case red, when Liu-shang made his present to Wen Wang. No correlation can

be sought for between this red colour and that of the personal writing of the Emperor at present, which causes him to be called sometimes the Vermilion pencil, *Tchu pih*. No vermillion or pencil were used to write at the beginning of the Tchou dynasty, and the latter was not invented for many centuries. And besides Red was at that time the colour of Ministers and high Officials, not that of the King. Flesh-colour was the Royal colour of the Tchou dynasty (*Tchéou-li*, tr. Biot. II. 133), in the same way as White was that of the Yn dynasty, and Black, in 246 B.C., that of the Ts'in. Red was selected for the Imperial colour only in A.D. 52 (*Hou Han Shu p'u tchu*) and has remained personal to the Emperor, while Yellow was adopted for the Government colour in 581 A.D. 7th month. (*Tuq kien kung Mu*; W. F. Mayers N. and Q., Oct. 31, 1867.

The fragments which Prof. De Harlez has translated for the B. & O. R., are the remains of the Red Book presented to Wen Wang in 1131 B.C., and however short, they deserve all attention and respect.—T. DE L.

THE SINO-ANNAMITE DIALECT of the Chinese, which is now the language of the literati in Tungking and Annam, is the most archaic of the Chinese dialects, and therefore the most valuable for comparative purposes. It has preserved the eight consonantian finals of old: *k*, *č*, *t*, *p*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *nh*, which have disappeared in the Mandarin Chinese of the present day, and are only partly preserved by some of the other southern dialects. Its syllabic sounds correspond with those assigned by tradition in the Tonic dictionaries such as the *Kwang-ya* and *Kwang-yun*, still better with the sounds indicated by homophonous words, in the *Er-ya* edited by Kwoh-p'oh and the *She ming* of the Han dynasty, and above all with the rhymes of poetry previous to that dynasty. History confirms this finding of modern philology. In 218 B.C. Jen Hiao, a general of She Hwang-ti founder of the Chinese Empire, settled in Tungking and S. Kwangsi half-a-million of Chinese colonists chiefly from the region which is now the modern Tchehkiang and was then thoroughly Chinese. In 140 A.D., the governor Si-nhip enacted most stringent rules for the maintenance and integrity of the Chinese language, script and literature in the region. The Sino-Annamite sounds have been put at the disposal of scholars in the special works of Legrand de la Lyraie and of Ihan due hoa.—T. DE L.

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

NOTE ON THE YENISEI INSCRIPTIONS.

THE area, within which the recently published inscriptions of the Yenisei are found, forms, between the 51st. and 55th. degree of latitude, two broad belts at right angles to each other in the form of an L, corresponding to the upper course of the river. Each zone is about 155 miles long by 100 miles wide, and is separated from the other by the Sayan range: the northern lies in Russian, the southern in Chinese territory. As similar inscriptions have just been reported to exist on the Orkhun river, the extreme range from east to west within which inscribed stones are known to occur must be increased to at least 565 miles. From the southern belt seventeen inscriptions have been published by the Finnish Archaeological Society, and more are believed to exist. In the northern zone they number fifteen; two to the east, the remainder to the west of the Yenisei. Of these latter, two are found on the Black Yus and White Yus, tributaries of the Chulym, which falls into the Ob. To these may be added an inscription incised on the rim of a metallic plate found in a tomb in the Abakan district and figured by Strahlenberg.

Though these two inscriptional areas are separated by the Sayan mountains, through which the Yenisei forces its way, there is little or no difference in the characters cut on the stones, though some very rare forms, such as    are peculiar to the southern zone, while   have only been found in the northern belt.

The stones on which the inscriptions occur are sometimes sculptured with a representation of a human head and breast, and are perhaps generally sepulchral, though this is not always the case. From purely archaeological considerations, Mr. J. R. Aspelin, who was in charge of the two Finnish expeditions, is of opinion that the inscriptions belong to the Bronze period. When they are found on tombstones, these form part of

sepulchral monuments of a well marked kind, which excavations have shown to belong to that epoch. Sepulchres of the early iron age are quite different in form and cannot be mistaken for the earlier ones.

Though I shall not attempt to explain the characters, I hope to give reasonably accurate statistics about them, which should be taken into account by all who do make the attempt. By tabulating the percentage of times each letter occurs initially and finally, it is possible to compare the results with Turkish, Mongol, Samoyede, and Kott, when the same method is applied to them. If there is no concordance, we may be sure the language of the inscriptions belongs either to a different linguistic stock, or to one of the languages compared when in a far earlier state, such as may have existed some two thousand years ago; for the morphological characteristics of a language change but slowly.

As regards the choice of languages for comparison, Turkish and Mongol for geographical and other reasons have an obvious claim. Touching Samoyede, there is reason to believe the Samoyedes descended into the great tundra of Northern Siberia from the Sayan and Little Altai mountains. The Soyots, who inhabit the upper portion of the Yenisei where it receives the name of Ulu Kem, the area in fact of our southern inscriptional zone, are believed by Castrén and Dr. Radlof to be turkeised Samoyedes with a small mixture of Jeniseiers. They call themselves Tuba, a name which Dr. Radlof identifies with the Dubo of Chinese historians of the 7th. cent. One fact however mentioned by the latter rather tells against the likelihood of Samoyedes having written the sepulchral inscriptions, for they stated that the Dubo put their dead into coffins which they set on mountains or suspended from trees, a practice still current among the Samoyede tribes that roam over the tundra of the north. The origin of the Koibal Tartars of the Abakan steppe in the northern belt is also traced to the amalgamation of small Samoyede and Yeniseier tribes. In favour of the ancient Samoyedes having been workers in metal, is the circumstance of their having native words for copper, silver, and iron, or metal in general. In fact the word for tin used by the Voguls on the east of the Urals, and by the Votyaks and Permians on the west is borrowed from the Ostyak Samoyede and means 'white metal or iron'. There are several strongly marked Samoyede dialects, and I have chosen for comparison the most southerly one of which there are published texts. The Yeniseiers are likewise supposed to have descended the river from the mountains to the south. They are now for the most part absorbed in the other allophyle races. But Castrén has preserved the grammars of the so called Yenisei

Ostyaks in the neighbourhood of the Sym and Bukhta rivers between the 60th and 65th degree of latitude, and of the Kotts who lived further south within the northern inscriptional zone. Within the latter area dwelt the Arins or Arintsi whose language resembled Kott, but of which only short vocabularies have been preserved. The language of the Jeniseiers has not been brought into relationship with any other existing linguistic family. Dr. Radloff believes the Jeniseiers were the original metal workers of the Altai region and known traditionally as Tschudes; that the tombs of the bronze age in this part of Siberia were erected and sculptured by them; that they represent the Gelotchi or Bila of Chinese historians. But against their having been metallurgists may be set the fact that all their words for metals are borrowed.

The words in the inscriptions are often separated by punctuation and where this has not been done I have divided them, when possible, in accordance with other passages, though not always so minutely as the text would sometimes seem to permit. I have calculated the percentage of initial letters on 625 words or word groups almost as they appear divided in the text, and again on 695 words which can certainly be recognised. But here I only give the percentage on the larger number, as the difference is rarely more than fractional. For the final letters I have used 685 words which is 78 more than the actual punctuation warrants, but here again the difference between the two results is only fractional. The Uigur percentages are calculated from 1000 words from Vámbéry's edition of the Kudatka Bilik (p. 111-121) which represents eastern Turkish of the 11th century; the Yakute from 1000 words from the text accompanying O. Böhtlingk's Yakute grammar; the Ozbeg from 500 words from Vámbéry's Chagatai Studies; the Mongol from 212 words from Schmidt's Mongol grammar; the Ostyak Samoyede from 500 words from the text accompanying Castrén's grammar and dictionary of the Samoyede dialects; the Kott from 1513 words from the vocabulary appended to Castrén's grammar of the Yenisei Ostyak languages, but as no text is given I am unable to state the percentages of the final letters.

In the following table the figures after each character or set of variants give the percentage of times it occurs as an initial and as a final letter. As I have followed Mr. J. R. Aspelin's grouping, I have sometimes omitted such variants as are of rare occurrence, while others that he gives are not met with in *an-* or *auslaut*. When two or more variants are in a row, the right hand one is the commonest form. The third column under six of the seven headings shews the order of the characters or letters as finals.

<i>Yenisei Characters.</i>	<i>Uigur.</i>	<i>Ozbeg.</i>	<i>Yakute.</i>	<i>Mongol.</i>	<i>Ostyak</i> <i>Samoyede.</i>	<i>Kom</i>
1. ح 13·3: 2· 15	b 22·8: 1·3	jb 16·6: 1·6n	b 15·9: 0 n	b 16·0: 0 n	k 19·4: 15·3	kh 16·
2. ڦڻڻ 11·4: 17·8	k 11·1: 9·2	r a 12·2: 11·2	k 12·5: 2·8	a k 9·4: 3·3	u m 13·	: 3·e
3. > 6·7: 2·3	ا 10·2: 3·	u k 10·: 3·6	s 10·3: 4·3	r t 9·4: 0	r t 10·4: 8·6d	s 10·
4. 6·4: 2·3	ج 10·: 2·4	e y 10·: 1·4	a t 9·8: 3·6	ا d 8·: 4·2e	č 9·8: 0 n	t' 6·9
5. د 6·4: 1·3	ڻ 8·3: 5	k t 8·: 2·6	ڻ a 7·6: 13·2	i e 6·1: 10·8i	n 6·: 9·3	t k 6·7
6. ڦ 5·6: 2·8	ڦ 6·6: 5·2a	k 7·: 2·6	e d 5·3: 1·3	ا m 6·1: 9·1	s 5·6: 2·p	f(p)' 6·
7. ڦ 5·6: 1·	ڦ 5·6: 9·6	u s 5·2: 4·6	s ü 4·9: 8·4	s n 5·1: 26·4d	p 5·4: 7·t	u 6·2
8. ڦ 4·4: 1·4	ڦ 5·6: 17·	k i 4·6: 13·	ڦ 4·7: 5·9	u (z 5·1: oa	a 5·4: 5·6	r b 4·6
9. ڦ 4·3: 5	ڦ 4·7: 1·1	m 3·8: 2·	i 4·5: 6·7	i (dz	e 5·: 15·2	l d' 4·5
10. ڦ 4·1: 10·3	ڦ 3·8: 0	z d 2·8: 1·k	o 3·7: 9	t u 4·7: 15·5k	s 4·8: 8·	i i 4·5
11. ڦ 3·4: 7 < ڦ 2·8: 0	t	ڦ 2·6: 4·4	t u 3·4: 4·2	m ü 4·2: 9	o g 4·6: 1·2	o t 4·3
12. ڦ 3·3: 2·9	ڦ 2·1: 7·6	u o 2·2: 0	z m 3·4: 3·1	l y 4·2: 0	m o 2·3: 3·	mp 3·6
13. ڦ 3·3: 4	ڦ 1·9: 9·7	u 1·6: 1·	s i 2·8: 3·8	d ڦ 4·2: 0	g ü 2·2: 0	j ö 2·9
14. ڦ 3·1: 4	ڦ 1·9: 1·6	e n 1·6: 16·	m g 2·7: 0	o s 3·7: 4	ü i 1·8: 3·4	u e 2·8
15. ڦ 2·1: 2·9	ڦ 2·6: 1·4	b e 1·4: 5·8	b j 2·6: 0	o a 2·8: 4·2	ü a 1·4: 2	g o 2·4
16. ڦ 1·8: 4·5	ڦ 1·6: 2·2	u g 1·4: 0	y ü 2·3: 4	ü i 2·3: 10·8	v 1·4: 0	s m 2·
17. ڦ 1·8: 1·3	ڦ 1·5: 0	p 1·4: 4	u ö 2·2: 1·2	ü o 1·8: 1·8	n' 4: 0	b k ڦ 1·5
18. ڦ 1·5: 1	ڦ 1·5: 0	u 1·2: 1·2	o č 6: 0	l g 1·8: 9	l 1·4: 4·8	á n' 8
19. ڦ 1·4: 0	ڦ 1·3: 9	p h 1·2: 6	d y 3: 0	o 1·4: 0	u 2·: 1·4	s Finals
20. ڦ 1·1: 2·9	ڦ 1·9: 1	y s 1·: 2·2	ü n 2: 26·1	ts 1·4: 0	d 0: 12·4	a ä e
21. ڦ 1·1: 21·7	ڦ 1·1: d	x 8: 0	h l 1: 2·2	g 4: 0	r 0: 4·8	i o u
22. ڦ 1·8: 2·9	ڦ 2: 0	z 6: 2·4	p r 0: 10·7	s 4: 0	j 0: 1·8	k x g
23. ڦ 1·7: 1·7	ڦ 1: 0	f 1·6: 3·6	č ü 0: 6	l 0: 5·1	b 0: 6	ñ t s
24. ڦ 1·6: 5	ڦ 1·1: 4·6	f 6: 0	j 1·0: 1	r 0: 13·2	l r n	
25. ڦ 1·5: 4	ڦ 1: r 0: 10·7	ü 4: 8	g	ñ 0: 4		m p
26. ڦ 1·5: 3·6	ڦ 1: z 0: 3·1	j 4: 4	h			
27. ڦ 1·5: 5	ڦ 1: 0	r 0: 13·6	n'			
28. ڦ 1·4: 1	ڦ 1: p 0: 7	ñ 0: 7·8	p			
29. ڦ 1·2: 1	ڦ 1: g 0: 0					
30. ڦ 1·2: 1	ڦ 1: 0					
31. ڦ 1·2: 0	ڦ 1: 0					
32. ڦ 1·2: 0	ڦ 1: 0					
33. ڦ 1·2: 0	ڦ 1: 0					
34. ڦ 1·2: 1	ڦ 1: 0					

It is not unlikely that more of the Yenisei characters are variant forms than would appear from the above table, and might therefore be grouped with the result of raising the percentages. Though until the words can be interpreted with certainty, there must generally be some doubt about the identification of unlike symbols, for they might be assumed to represent related and not identical sounds. Mr. R. Brown has already noted some of these in the *Record*.

A comparison of the Turkish and Mongol columns shews plainly that b as an initial and r as a final letter play a most important rôle, and this no doubt has been the case for the last thousand years. The percentage of the Yenisei **B** is 2·1, and it occurs 16 times in *inlaut*. Assuming that in two or three of these instances it is really in *anlaut*, the initial percentage would still hardly be raised 1. The only possible conclusions therefore are that its value is not b, or that the language is neither recent Turkish nor Mongolian. In Turkish and Mongol, the percentage of r is about 0·10·7-13·6, and however the Yenisei characters are grouped, no such result can be even approximately attained. From the absence of an r and impossibility of attributing to **B** the value of a Turkish or Mongol b, it would seem certain that the language of the Yenisei inscriptions is neither Turkish nor Mongolian of the last millennium.

In the most northerly of the inscriptions, Mr. R. Brown believes he can read the letters okaehsχi, okaesχi; these words he equates with an Arin word okaeschi, found in Strahlenberg, and adds that it is the form given by Strahlenberg to a letter. In the English edition of 1878 the word is printed okæschi, and it is easy to shew, by comparing the accompanying Finnish and Turkish lists, that he meant to express the sound of okāši (ā=a in and, š=Eng. sh). Klaproth gives the form okhyáši, which is probably more correct, as it takes notice of nuances which Strahlenberg's ear failed to catch. He writes the š with the Russian letter so that there is no mistake about it in this instance. As the Kott word is ačanše it is not improbable that at no very remote date, long posterior to the date of the inscription, the form of the Arin word was akhyánše, and developed an i out of a gradually disappearing nazalised a.

JOHN ABERCROMBY.

NOTES—

1) With differences as shown by a comparison with Prof. G. Deveria's *Inscriptions recueillies à Karakorum. Relevé des différents signes figurants dans les copies rapportées par M. Yadrinoff*: T'oung Pao, Leide,

Oct. 1890, vol. I, pp. 275-276; and by the forthcoming article of the same scholar in the *B. & O. R.*—T. de L.

2) In my *Lectures on Indo-Chinese philology*, delivered at the University College of London, and still in MS., I have shown reason based upon glossarial and grammaticale evidence to classify the Yenisei-Kott in the Kuenlunie branch of the Turano-Scythian tock of languages. Cf. for this classification *The languages of China before the Chinese*, §231. —T. de L.

SIR HENRY PEEK'S ORIENTAL CYLINDERS.

It was with great pleasure that I noted the valuable additional remarks upon this very interesting collection of cylinders by my friend Dr. Hayes Ward¹, who has made himself known as an earnest and enthusiastic student of, and writer upon, objects of this kind. The proverb which tell us that "two heads are better than one" applies with special force to the study of Babylonian cylinder-seals, for they seldom strike two people in precisely the same light, and every intelligent scholar, especially if he be anything of a specialist, can generally add something worth noting concerning the designs they bear.

Dr. Hayes Ward's remarks concerning No. 1 of Sir Henry Peek's collection, are of value in that they point out the interesting fact that it gives one of the earliest examples of the usual conventional form of representing the sun, and shows the buffalo and the bull on the same seal. I must say, though, that I have always regarded the wavy lines in the image of the sun on the Abu-habbah stone as the Babylonian way of representing rays, not water; and have also thought that the *large*-horned bull was the *rimu* of the inscriptions (compare Psalm xxii., 21, where the horns of the *reem*, translated "wild-bull" in the revised version, are mentioned). Dr. Hayes Ward may be right, however, on both these points.

No. 2 of Sir H. Peek's collection I have regarded as being possibly Phenico-Aramaic, but, as Dr. Ward indicates, the style reminds one of Persian art. Not having seen, as yet, any cylinder certainly Sabean², I am unable to pronounee any opinion as to whether it is Sabean or not, but I am inclined to doubt it.

With regard to No. 18, (Dr. Ward's publication of which I greatly regret having overlooked) with the two others in the same style that he has

pointed out, I am still in doubt about them. The Babylonian inscription on the one published by Lajard (B. & O. R., p. 245) seems to indicate that they are of Babylonian origin, and if so, that belonging to Sir H. Peek possibly refers to the story of Etana and the eagle³. The style, however, is very strange—though probably not more so than that of the last two cylinders published by Monsieur de Clercq on pl. 1 of his *Catalogue Raisonné*, which seem to me to offer a slight analogy. The characters on the cylinder published by Lajard look like *En-bi-²-ku*, but they are probably not well reproduced. This inscription seems to me to point to a date earlier than 2000 B.C., though how much earlier, if any, I cannot say.

With regard to the different styles of engraving in vogue in Babylonia, it is to be noted that the Peek-collection, small as it is, gives (without No. 18) about five, namely, (1) the struggling lions and bulls, and Gilgamesh struggling with a lion and a bull (nos. 1 and 3); (2) the scenes showing deities and worshippers (nos. 4, 6, and 7-11); (3) seated deities and worshippers (nos. 12 and 13); (4) standing deities, &c. (nos. 14-17) and (5) the late style of the cone (nos. 24 and 25). Classes 2-4 may, it is true, be regarded as rough variations of the same style, all three being specifically Akkadian, but the whole shows how much the art of the country differed at different times and in different districts. No. 18 may, therefore, as Dr. Ward suggests, notwithstanding its un-Babylonianness, very easily belong to the art of the country. The remark that I have made in the Catalogue of Sir H. Peek's cylinders upon the work of the representation of the man riding upon the bird is, that "the style and design, if not West-Semitic, are probably due to Western influence." This is only a suggestion,—we require more light ere anything can be declared with certainty.

Besides the styles above enumerated, the Peek-collection contains also specimens of Cyprian, Assyrian, and so-called Hittite cylinders. Seven of the Babylonian cylinders are inscribed, but none of the others. Of equal interest with the cylinder showing Gilgamesh is the better of the two Assyrian ones (No. 2), which has a representation of a god with bow and arrows, and a winged lion, chasing a winged griffin. The work, though rather rough, is very spirited.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

NOTES—

- 1) See the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for October, 1890.
- 2) The cylinder with a Sabeian inscription, concerning which Dr. Ward has written to me, is probably Assyrian work, the inscription having been added later.
- 3) I have had an opportunity of speaking to Mr. Harper, who is publishing the legend in question, upon the subject.

FROM ANCIENT CHALDEA AND ELAM TO EARLY CHINA :
AN HISTORICAL LOAN OF CULTURE.

INTRODUCTORY.

1. Theories of importance concerning the philosophy of history, the historical development of language and that of civilization, have found a great, when not their main support, in an alleged originality of the civilisation of the Chinese, their supposed great power since remote antiquity, and the state of their language, said to have remained unchanged and crystallised from its beginnings. But these statements were simply suppositions which no scientific research had ever controlled, and which have disappeared when pressed by critical and serious investigations. The whole edifice was built on sand. The facts are that the Chinese language has passed through and continues to pass through its natural evolution like all other languages¹; that the greatness of the Chinese power in antiquity is nothing but moonshine caused by the glowing accounts and patriotic misconceptions of native historians²; and that the originality of civilisation of the Empire Beneath-Heaven proves to be loans of western culture.³

2. In a series of articles published in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* of 1889, we have attempted to draft a resumé of the proofs that the sources of the early Chinese civilization were the Babylonian and Elamite culture. These proofs, for the sake of convenience, were enumerated in their relation to 1^o, Sciences and Arts; 2^o, Writing and Literature; 3^o, Institutions, Government, and Religion; 4^o, Historical traditions and legends; and, a special chapter was devoted to those of these proofs which show that the source of all these loans was in Elam=Susiana. Other chapters dealt with the secondary introduction of culture during the after ages of Antiquity. The proofs resumed under the aforesaid five heads number over one hundred, the importance of which may be estimated if we consider that the written characters count for one item only. Since then further proofs have been put forward in some papers of the Rev. C. J. Ball on *Ideograms common to Accadian and Chinese*⁵ and on *The New Accadian*,⁶ and in several articles of mine on *The deluge-tradition and its re-*

mains in Ancient China,⁷ *The Caledar Plant of China, the Cosmic Tree and the Date-Palms of Babylonia*⁸, *The Onomastic similarity of Nai-Huang-ti of China and Nakunte of Susiana*⁹, and on *The Zodiacs and Cycles of Babylonia and their Chinese derivatives*.¹⁰

3. My purpose in the following pages is to call attention to the real position of the historical problem which has received its solution from these researches and disclosures, and also to indicate a few more proofs of great importance which might have been looked upon as decisive by themselves, should they have been published before.

NOTES—

- 1) On the fallacy of this theory, cf. my remarks §§ 20-25, 204, 219, & 238 of *The Languages of China before the Chinese* (1887); and my special paper on *Le Non-Monosyllabisme du Chinois Antique, l'écart entre les langues écrite et parlée d'aujourd'hui et l'histoire de la langue écrite* (Paris, Leroux, 1885); also §§ 46-55 of *Beginnings of writing around Tibet* (J. R. A. S. 1886), and sect. Philology of my article *Tibet*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, last edition. These disclosures, on which cf. Herbert Baynes, *Die Indonesische Philologie*; Ztsch. f. Volkers psychologie und sprachwissenschaft, pp. 284-299, vol. xviii, Leipzig, 1888, have been accepted by almost all the best philologists of the day: Cf. R. de la Grasserie's remarkable works, *De la Catégorie des noms*, 1890, pp. 107-109, his *Essai de phonétique générale*, 1890, pp. 86, 136 142, 144, 167, and a special paper in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* of Paris for 1891.
- 2) Dr. J. Chalmers, *Origin of the Chinese*, 1868, pp. 63-78, has taken the gilt away of the ancient Chinese Emperors. On the small beginnings and gradual extension of the Chinese, Cf. T. de L. *Les langues de la Chine avant les Chinois; Recherches sur les langues des populations aborigènes et immigrantes, l'arrivée des Chinois, leur extension progressive dans la Chine propre et les sources de leur civilisation*. 1 aris. Leroux, 1888, IX. 209 pp. It is a French edition of my above work, largely extended.
- 3) The civilisation of the aboriginal tribes of China previous to the immigration of the Bak families was at a low ebb, although they had in the centre and south the knowledge of iron, and in the east that of silk. On the latter fact Cf. my paper on *The Silk Goddess of China and her legend*, par. 16-18, 29, & 49-50, and also: *The languages of China before the Chinese*, § 196.
- 4) *Origin from Babylonia and Elam of the early Chinese civilisation: a summary of the proofs*; Vol. III. pp. 62-69, 73-91, 97-110, 129-141, 150-164, 185-192, & 217-223.—References are given therein to the many books, papers, and articles which refer to the subject.
- 5) Reprinted from the *Proc. S.B.A.*, Dec. 1890, 23 pp.
- 6) Id. 1889-1890, 127 pp.
- 7) *B. & O.R.* vol. IV. pp. 15-24, 49-56, 79-88, & 102-111.
- 8) *B. & O.R.* vol. IV. pp. 217-231, & 246-251.
- 9) *B. & O.R.* vol. IV. pp. 256-254.
- 10) *The Academy*, Oct. 11, 1890.

II. THE PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION.

4. The Chinese civilisation is the oldest of the world in existence but not in history, and it derives from this fact a great deal of a special interest mixed of diffidence and prejudice in favour of its isolation. Although younger by two or three thousand years, at the least, than the great civilisations of Antiquity, now lost, of Chaldea and Egypt, it has the great advantage on them of being still alive. It has remained comparatively undisturbed from the early days of its establishment, save the events inherent to its growth and territorial expansion with the evolution resulting therefrom. No break in its records and no interruption in its link of traditions are noticeable for four thousand years. Thus it has been possible for the Chinese to preserve many souvenirs of remote times, and not a few notions and items of the civilisation which was imparted to them in Antiquity. And however eventful on a small scale may have been its history, and large the losses and alterations in its souvenirs caused by these events, the fact of its existence uninterrupted to modern times enhance greatly its interest and importance in the general history of civilisation, at the same time as it increases the value of its evidence for antiquarian researches.

5. The beginnings of the Chinese and of their civilisation have remained much longer than could be expected a matter of wonder and obscurity. As long as nothing was known of the Chaldeo-Elamite culture beyond the statements found in classical authors, no satisfactory explanation could be found of the problem they presented and present no more. When the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions enlightened us more and more on the state of things in Anterior Asia and the activity of the centres of civilisation of Chaldea and Susiana since the most remote times and for several thousand years, the idea that a distinct civilisation may have arisen and grown by itself during that time, without any notions from the west, in an eastern part of the ancient continent where such notions could possibly have reached, became untenable. On the other hand, the long cherished hypothesis that the civilisation of the Chinese was the outcome of their independent and self-development during a long period of isolation of several thousands of years could find no support in their history when critically examined.

6. The supreme importance attributed by the Chinese to the traditions, however embellished and adorned they have been in the course of time, of their early rulers, paragons of all virtues and possessors of all know-

ledge, could not be entirely swept away by the most daring criticism without a wilful destruction of some invaluable shreds of history. And although some obscurity still remains on many points, the difficulty exists no more, and the main lines of their early period have been traced up.

Stripped of all the wild growth of exaggeration, flattery, marvels and fables which have developed upon the traditions concerning them, these beginnings are simple enough.

7. A small number of tribes called the Bak *Sing-s* or Bak families, coming from the west, made their way towards the much coveted pastures of the Flowery land, about the twenty-third century B.C. They marched under the leadership of intelligent men, who either by themselves or by their immediate fathers, were acquainted with a non-ineconsiderable amount of civilisation, such as could only have been imparted by a frequent intercourse, on the borders of Elam, with populations in possession of the civilisation whose focus was on the Northern shores of the Persian Gulf, and in the very state of advancement which it had reached then and there¹¹, and nowhere else. Concurrent evidence and similarities show this to demonstration.

8. This nucleus of comparatively civilised population who had settled at first on the confines of China proper, and chiefly in modern Kansuh and Shansi, spread eastwards and southwards, and gradually absorbing or repelling the native tribes, made its way into the country. Establishing posts and strongholds from place to place in the fashion of the Babylonian themselves, they were able to extend their dominion on an area less smaller than their limited number would have justified¹². Several centuries elapsed until they were able to advance eastwards as far as the sea-coast, in the immediate vicinity of the Shantung peninsula, which until the foundation of the Chinese Empire in the third century B.C. remained in the possession of non-Chinese tribes. Midway between the Ho, or yellow river, and the Yang-tze Kiang, were the southern limits of their dominion under the Tchou dynasty (1100-250 B.C.).

9. Occasional inroads outside these limits extended their influence and caused them to be encircled by semi-Chinese and non-Chinese states, acknowledging, but in a faint way, or not at all, the suzerainty of the central authority. Such a condition of things, which investigators in Chinese antiquities ought to consider with the attention it deserves, resulted into a relative isolation during two thousand years. These outside states, little civilised, were necessarily the receivers, or senders, or transmitters of any foreign communications that happened ; they produced

the effect of buffers through which all external influence had to pass before reaching the Middle Kingdom, but, when hostile, they stopped the way. Many of these communications, generally of an occasional character have taken place, but the disappearance or non-existence of records of those border states, make their study a matter of great difficulty. Some glimpses here and there, have however been discovered, and we are now enabled to speak with a certain amount of certainty, about cases where foreign influence has penetrated amongst them.

10. It may be seen from these remarks, that China has not been in antiquity the isolate and closed world which formerly and rather prematurely it has long been the habit to suppose it to be. Distant from the old centres of activity and culture, and therefore less accessible to the reach of occasional communications from them, it was not, however, in olden times altogether outside the pale of civilised mankind. The general results of recent historical research and the well marked tendency of progress of knowledge of Antiquity are to show that the civilisations of old were related to each other.

11. Man has always been migratory, trade has always been an incitement to long journeys and the ancient continent is not large enough for any inhabited part to have remained thoroughly isolated. Length of time is a great factor in such cases. Occasional displacements of populations, and isolate communications, failing the difficulty of regular intercourse, have certainly happened in the course of history. The geographical isolation in which the Chinese stand comparatively is greatly the result of geological modifications which have occurred in historical times. The finding of specimens of metallic money of the third century B.C. in the loess formation of western China¹³, and the entombment in the sand of so many cities in the basin of the Tarym and the great desert of Gobi since the Christian era¹⁴, show that the access to China from the west in ancient times was not accompanied with the difficulties it had to encounter afterwards.

12. The comparative evidence, and remarkable synchronisms of progress now at our disposal show, without possibility of doubt, that a large amount of notions and institutions, historical and mythical souvenirs, religious social and scientific traditions, foreign to the idiosyncrasies of Eastern Asia, and traceable to their antecedents in the civilisation of Chaldea and Elam, had been carried to China at the earliest period of the history of the Chinese, not later than the twenty third century B.C. The same evidence show also that infiltrations of further notions of western culture

in the subsequent centuries of Antiquity, have penetrated into the Flowery land, notwithstanding the various difficulties of tardiness and garbling intermediairies which stood in their way, through the clumsy and irregular trade carried by land and by sea, often from hand to hand, between the West and the East¹⁵. And those later infiltrations are also traceable to their original sources, whichever they were, Khorasmian, Persian, West Asiatic, Arabian, Egyptian, Greek and Indian, including by rebound a few notions from the same origin as those carried to China at the beginning.

13. In fact a sort of synchronism exists, during the two milleniums preceding our era, between the history of culture in China and that of Anterior Asia. It does not belong to the limited evolution of a character naturally similar, which arises from the fact of germs communicated from one country to another, or to both, and afterwards developed separately in a manner necessarily alike. Far from that, it consists in the fact that discoveries, inventions and progresses which have taken place successively at that time in the focuses of western civilisation, were partly and successively carried to the other side of the Asiatic continent, where they appear in a recognizable manner in the historical civilisation of the Middle Kingdom.

NOTES—

- 11) Cf. my mémoire still unfinished on the *Origin from Babylonia and Elam of the early Chinese civilisation : a summary of the proofs*, Chapters I to V : The B.&O.R., 1889.
- 12) The Hia dynasty, that which was founded by the great Yü, hardly deserves this pompous name ; it consists in a succession of chieftains who did not always succeed one another, and whose control over the Chinese agglomeration was very weak.
- 13) Cf. T. de L. : *On the Metallic currencies of ancient China* : 1888, p. 430 : J.R.A.S., vol. XX.—F. von Richthofen, *China* vol. I, p. 158 had supposed to this money an antiquity of 2200 b.c.
- 14) T. Douglas Forsyth : *On the buried cities of the shifting sands of the great desert of Gobi* : Proc. R.G.S. 1877, vol. XXI.
- 15) One of the most remarkable evidences under that respect consist in the successive stages of the history of metallurgic industry.

III. PECULIARITIES OF THE WRITING EVIDENCE.

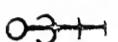
14. Amongst the proofs concerning the oldest period, there are a few which may be looked upon as really striking, and convincing. Such for instance are those concerning some peculiarities of the written characters and the cardinal points. The palaeographic evidence consists in the fact that, in the same way as none of the beginnings of Chinese civilisation proceed from savage life, their writing has never passed through the

primitive hieroglyphic stage in the Flowery land. It was already old and decayed when they became acquainted with it. Their oldest characters are hieratic derivatives in round and cursive forms instead of the stiff and lapidary style, of the transitory forms of the Babylonian symbols of the time of Gudea (2500 B.C.), and Hammurabi (2300 B.C.)¹⁶. This derivation is established and made: 1^o, clear, from the comparison of simple characters¹⁷; 2^o, obvious, from that of double signs, complex ideograms in the mother writing, which have remained so in their derivative forms¹⁸; and 3^o, coercive, from that of complex ideograms which have been derived as simple characters in the daughter writing. As a confirmatory evidence from another side we must mention also the legendary knowledge of the cuneiform style of writing and some traces of characters shaped thus on ancient documents in China.

15. The third class of proofs and the confirmatory evidence as well as the cardinal points are the sole subjects which can be given as evidence here, as the arrangement and purpose of this paper does not permit to do it otherwise than in a passing way.

In my first article on *The Tree of Life and the Calendar Plant of Babylonia and China*¹⁹. I have called attention to the resemblance of form of the old Chinese character OK, precious, beautiful, gem, jade with the old Babylonian UKH, brilliant, sovereignty, charm which is apparently its antecedent. Here are the two forms:

Old Babylonian  (Amiaud-Méchineau, Tableau, No 214).

Early Chinese  (Min Tsikih, Luh shu t'ung, IX, 11 v.)

16. A more striking instance is that of the character for gold, the metal precious²⁰. In ancient Babylonian script as shown on the inscriptions of Gudea it is composed of  ku, glittering and  GIN, established, which appear on the statue B, col. VI, l. 18 of Gudea as:   and was simplified into the early Chinese sign here-with, modern  Both symbols have the same meaning of metal par excellence.

A third instance is that presented by the derivation of the symbol for tin. It may have meant occasionally lead as it is not certain that in high Antiquity the two metals were always distinguished one from the other. In their late forms the characters are the Babylonian *anaku*   NIGGI in Sumero-Akkadian, and the Chinese *sih*  anciently  SIK which both have the same meaning. The derivation of the early Chinese form from the old Babylonian as its antecedent is shown by a comparison of their respective forms:

Old Babylonian
Amiaud, Tableau No. 16.



Early Chinese
Min Tsikih, s.r. X, 7.

17. Another interesting case is that of the Chinese *kih* luck and the Babylonian auspicious, whose old sounds were KÊT and KUR respectively. The ancient forms were the following :

Old Babylonian
Amiaud, Tableau No. 244.



Early Chinese
Min Tsikih, IX, 20.

In both last examples the component elements of the complex ideograms are still visible in archaic Babylonian, while they were lost for the Chinese who have indulged into wild speculations to analyse them. The same thing may be said of the last example of that class which space permits us to give here.

It is the complex ideogram *iltanu* the North, in Sumero-Akkadian SIDI propitious and the Chinese *si* or *tsen* west and also favorable ; both characters applied to the right hand side as we shall see below. The archaic forms show the derivation :

Archaic Babylonian
Amiaud, Tableau No.



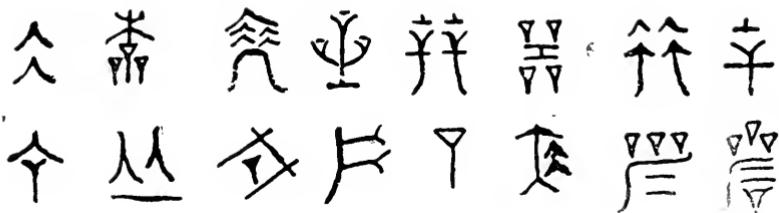
Early Chinese
Min Tsikih, s.v.

The resemblance is too close to require any comments.

18. Attention has been called already several times²² to the legendary indications which show that the early Chinese were not unacquainted with the cuneiform style of the mother writing of their own. Shen-nung = Sargon is reputed to have written with tongues of fire ; Tsang-hieh ancient Dumki (=the Chaldean Dungi) had a writing made like the marks of claws of birds and animals on clay ; it was also described as like drops of rain freezing when falling ; and the palaeographers insist on the peculiarity of the Kuwen style, that the strokes composing the characters were thin at one end and thick at the other.

19. Amongst the reliques of olden times, collected by the native palaeographers, there are a certain number of signs which have a cuneiform appearance ; they do not belong properly to a peculiar style of writing ; they are simply isolate symbols whose shape has permitted better than the others to keep something of the cuneitic form of the strokes with which their western antecedents were framed. The following are a few of them picked up at random²³.





Identifications with the Babylonian and Elamite Antecedents of these characters may be established in some cases, but the cuneiform strokes must be looked upon simply as survivals.

NOTES—

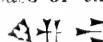
- 16) Cf. Leon de Rosny: *Les écritures figuratives et hiéroglyphiques des différents peuples anciens et modernes*, 2e. édit., 1870. pp. 3-4.—T. de L. : *Beginnings of writing around Tibet*, 1886, par. 46-48.—R. K. Douglas, *Chinese Manual*, 1889, p. 14.
- 17) Cf. plate of early Chinese and Babylonian characters in T. de L. : *Early history of the Chinese civilisation*, 1880 ; *The Old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivates*, March 1888; *Chips of Babylonian and Chinese Palaeography*, October, 1888; and the papers of the Rev. C. J. Ball.
- 18) Mr. C. J. Ball has called special attention to this phenomenon, in his papers on *The New Accadian*, part V, and on *Ideograms common to Accadian and Chinese*, Nos. 13, 14, 15 and 18.
- 19) *B.&O.R.* June 1888, vol. II, pp. 149-159.
- 20) A character itself derived from the Egyptian hieroglyphic for gold, as we shall have occasion to show in the last part of my paper on *An Unknown King of Lagash*.
- 21) In Babylonian this name of metal was not written with the determinative prefix for *metal*, perhaps because AN being part of the word was looked upon as suggesting “glittering like a star.” In Chinese the determinative KIN was soon after the beginnings always used.
- 22) T. de L. : *Early history*, p. 28 ; *The Old Babylonian characters*, p. 13 ; *Beginnings of writing*, par. 49 ; *Origin of the early Chinese civilisation*, ch. IV, b.
- 23) The references for these curiously shaped characters are the following: I, 15, 16, 43, 59; II, 11, 18, 33, 25, 41; II, 5, 7, 31, 6; IV, 9, 24, 25, 31, 37, 38, 42, 62; V, 15, 21, 28, 47; VI, 1, 8, 37; VII, 18, 20, 23, 36, 41, 44; VIII 35; IX, 9, 12, 19 51; in Min Ts'ikih, *Lu Shu'tung*.

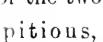
IV. SHIFTING OF THE CARDINAL POINTS.

20. In 1880²⁴, 1883, and also in 1883, in my special paper on *The shifted cardinal points from Elam to Early China*²⁵, the first part of which has alone been hitherto published, I had called attention to the fact that the written symbols of the cardinal points in Chinese were derived from those of Chaldea with a peculiar shifting, which at first I have been at a loss to understand rightly. The explanation and proofs are forthcoming in the second part of the aforesaid paper, but pending its

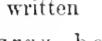
publication at full length, I beg to submit here a short resumé of the case which, in my opinion, constitutes one of the most important proofs of the Chaldeo-Elamite origin of Chinese civilisation.

21. It is well known that the Sumero-Akkadian orientation was diagonal and faced the South-west while the Assyro-Babylonian orientation was perpendicular and faced the East. This direction most peculiar of the Sumero-Akkadian points of space, which was discovered by Assyriologists in February 1883²⁶, had thus been foreshadowed by me from the Chinese side nearly three years previously (May, 1880).

22. The South-east point of the compass of the Sumero-Akkadians, the South for the Assyrians, was called  S.A. the powerful point²⁷, Ass. *satu*, the south, *mēhā* enormous, *alā* destruction. Let us remark that the first symbol is a silent determinative prefix meaning wind, whence point of space, and that the second one has among other Assyrian values that of *alu*, and the third that of *lu* while the most common reading of the two is *alā*. We shall have to remember these facts further on.

The North-West (S.-A.), North (Ass.) was written also with the prefix which we can neglect here as we shall do for the two others. The proper symbols were  S.A. *sidi* propitious, Ass. *iltanu* evil²⁸.

23. The North-East (S.-A.) or East (Ass.) was written  S.-A. *kurra* the mountain, Ass. *sadū*, same meaning²⁹.

The South-west (A.-S.) or West (Ass.) was written  S.-A. *Martu* the abode of sun etc. Ass. *aharru*, behind. We shall have to remember that in *Martu* the first symbol *mar* is a bode³⁰.

With reference to their personal orientation, the South-west was the front and the North-East the back, while the South-east was the left and the North-west the right hand side, for the Sumero-Akkadians.

24. The various meanings of these names distinctly refer to a particular country and a settled population. They befit as might be expected the people of Chaldea, and besides, they embodied the traditional orientation of the Sumero-Akkadians themselves, facing the South-west, because they had originally emigrated from a North-eastern land. It would be for the same reason that the Hindu-Aryans who having came into India from the West, front the East in their orientation.

25. Now let us see what was the value of these names of orientation for a population differently settled and having other aspirations, and bent to advance in another direction. They would take away with them the foregoing terms as far as they expressed the notions of right and left, front and back. Precising still more our test case, let us see what the

Bak tribes civilisers of China could do with these notions, when they left the border lands of Elam to migrate towards the North-east as they were compelled to do at the beginning of a journey which was not to finish before their reaching the North-west of China proper.

26. *Martu*, which was the front became their back, since they left it behind them, but with the progress of their journey eastwards and the fluctuations of their route, the meaning of the term as abode-of-the-setting-sun ceased to be appropriate: what they had left behind was always the *mar* or abode, their abode, but it was no more that of the setting sun, and they dropped accordingly the word and sign *tu* which conveyed that special meaning. And when bending their route southwards to reach the N.W. of the much coveted Flowery land, their back was the true North, and has remained so for them. Therefore, if they have really taken away with them the knowledge of the writing of Chaldea and Elam, we must expect that the old Babylonian symbol *mar* must be the antecedent of the early Chinese symbol for North, their back.

27. For the same reason and as a consequence, *kurru* the back became their front: and as the complex ideogram had the meaning of high lands like these they had frequently in their front when on their journey, they must have preserved it without disintegration for their symbol for South.

Sidi in the Sumero-Akkadian orientation was the name of the point of space on the right hand side and that of the North-west; it was written as we have seen previously with a complex ideogram. The Chinese have preserved it as a single symbol which we have already quoted, with its attributions of right-hand point of space, the west, and the sound *si*.

28. As to the fourth and last symbol *alû*, it was also written with a complex ideogram, and its attributions were those of the left hand point of space, and the South-east. Now the future civilisers of China seem to have forgotten or neglected the evil character of that region, and as the second symbol of the complex ideogram had by itself the value of *tu*, they looked at it as the exponent of the whole name *alû*. This cannot be surprising for us. In all this borrowings and derivations, there is a clear evidence that they were made in a somewhat familiar and barbarous way or through a clumsy intermediary³¹. Their lack of scientific precision, and their numerous blunders and misconceptions are evidence in favour of the soundness of our views on the whole question. With reference to this special case, they have preserved with the double acceptation of east and left-hand point of space a symbol which contains undoubtedly a derivate of the aforesaid ideogram *tu*. I am not prepared

however to say that the Chinese character is not derived from the double ideogram *al u + lu* combined together by the insertion of the second into the first which was liable to such an absorption. But as we have no palaeographic proof that this particular combination did take place in the Chaldeo-Elamites lands, the matter remains an open question. There is no doubt however as to the derivation of the Chinese symbol from the second if not from the two composing parts of the Babylonian ideogram.

29. As thus all four have been sufficiently explained away, the following table which shows so clearly the derivation of the early Chinese from the old Babylonian antecedents is what may have been expected³² :

Old Babylonian: S. W. or Front  =  N. or back, Early Chinese

„ N. E. or Back  =  S. or Front „

„ N. W. or Right  =  W. or Right „

„ S. E. or Left  =  E. or Left „

We have here a most convincing proof which I had hitherto withheld in the hope of publishing at full length all the explanations it requires. The present note on the matter is only provisional, as we shall have to consider elsewhere the bearing of the fact on the earliest astronomical statements of the ancient Chinese which this displacement explains in the most simple way. This will be done in the second part of our paper on the shifted cardinal points.

30. The above proofs of the complete derivation of the notion about the points of space by the civilisers of the Chinese from the Chaldeo-Elamite culture are completed by another set of affinities.

1^o) The complex symbol which corresponded to the back for the Sumero-Akkadians, i.e. *Kurra* was composed of the ideograms mountain + inundation, or quantity of water. The same notion was taught to the Chinese and the author of the *Shwoh-wen* has recorded the tradition that originally the inventor of writing must have lived on the South of great mountains, since the character for north, or back, denoted a mountain with water over it³³.

2^o) On the other hand the complex symbol S.-A. *sidi* which became the antecedent of that of the Chinese for west had the meaning of propitious, a notion which has always been connected with the west by the Chinese.

31. A further proof of the loan culture of the west to the east may be found in several resemblances of names. *Marr* which we have already quoted may be phonetically represented by the Chinese *ba k*, *pa k*, as the

Chinese orthoepy has no final-*r*³⁴. *Nam* the Chinese word for South, taking into account the frequent equivalence *l*=*n*, is too much alike the name of *Elam*, the southern country, not to be looked upon as another link of survival in the present researches, while *su i u* and *i s h t a n n u* seem to have survived in the Chinese *si west* and *tung*, east.

32. Without pressing too much on the latter affinities, which may be the result of coincidences, those classified under 1^o and 2^o) as well as the two first following, will, I think, be looked upon by my readers as sufficiently satisfactory to be classified with the previous proofs of the derivation of the notions, names, and symbols of the point of space by the civilisers of China from the Chaldeo-Elamite culture. These proofs are so far conclusive that, while confirming the fact that the latter civilisation was the mother culture of that of early China, they show at the same time that this loan of civilisation was carried away in a north eastern direction by emigrants, whom other proofs have shown to be the Bak families once settled on the borderlands of Elam.

NOTES—

- 24) *Early history of the Chinese civilisation*, p. 29.
- 25) *B.&O.R.*, Jan. 1888, vol. II, pp. 25-32.
- 26) *Proc. S.B.A.* February 6, 1883, by Mr. T. G. Pinches.
- 27) Lit. IM-GAL-LU. Cf. Brunn. *List*, Nos. 8381, 946, 947, 938, 940, and 10571. The first symbol is also read MER, and we feel not sure that it was not to be read as in the present case, because a complex ideogram formed of four times this symbol arranged as a cross had the sound *Mer mer*. Cf. Brunn *List* No. 12438.
- 28) Cf. Brunn. *List* Nos. 8410, 3375, 3459, 9518.
- 29) Cf. Brunn. *List* Nos. 8462, 7336, 6352.
- 30) Cf. Brunn. *List*, Nos. 8436, 5811, 1057.—For these different values and meanings cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Chaldean magic*, pp. 168-169; and T. de L.'s paper on *The shifted cardinal points*.
- 31) Prof. J. Halevy in his valuable paper on *The Nation of the Mards*: *B.&O.R.*, March 1890, vol. IX, p. 79, has come to the conclusion that "If the Chinese possess some scientific or mythological elements, of which the old Semitic origin is certain, these elements have not reached them except through the medium of the Mards of Susiana, and consequently under a sufficiently altered form." He confirms therefore from another side the conclusion I advocate since 1880.
- 32) For these forms cf. Amiand, *Tableau*, Nos. 67; 254, 93; 38, 256; 58, 292; also for the latter, J. Ménant, *Grammaire*, No. 275.—Min Tsikih, *Luh shu tung*, s.v.; Fu-lwan-siang, *Luh shu fun tuy*, s.v.; Tung Wei-fu *Tchuen tze wei*, s.v.
- 33) Cf. J. Chalmers, *Origin of the Chinese*, 1868, p. 23.
- 34) "In the oldest time an-*r*- to be transcribed was supposed to be the final of a syllable, for which equivalence a Chinese syllable finishing with -*k* was selected." T. de L.: *The Djurtchen of Mandshuria; their Name, Language, and Literature*. par. 13: *J.R.A.S.*, April 1889, vol. XXI, p. 442.

*THE ANTIQUITY OF THE ANCIENT CHINESE
SACRED BOOKS.*

A recent writer has endeavoured to shew that the great Chinese *kings* have absolutely no antiquity, that they are purely and simply so many documents invented at pleasure by the literati of the first Han dynasty, great masters in the art of *forgery*. He refers above all to the Shu-king, which he represents as having been conceived and composed at the end of the 2nd century B.C.

He deduces this opinion from four arguments:

- 1^o The want of certain data.
- 2^o The irregularities in the discovery of the Shu.
- 3^o The contents of these Annals.
- 4^o The names of the personages of whom mention is made, and which all were in reality the names of countries, people, or stars.

The argument cannot be surprising for those who desire to carry the axe among Chinese antiquities. This obliges us rather to examine more closely and to scrutinize the value of his arguments and of those which might be opposed to him.

As to the first, it does not require us to consider it at any length; it has nothing to do with the question. It is a confusion between the credibility and the genuineness with the certain date which has nothing to do with that matter. India has not, so to speak, a single ancient document, even of the Middle Ages, to which there can be assigned an epoch exactly fixed. At this rate it could be maintained that the Vedas themselves have been written at a modern date. Ancient China besides is wanting in means to fix its dates, but let us pass on.

2. The second argument is a little more plausible. But we believe we may affirm that it has not been made use of in conformity with the strict laws of logic.

We shall not recall in their details the well known facts of the discovery of the Shu-king after that which we term *the persecution of She-hoang-ti*; a summary glance will suffice. Here then is a resumé of what is said by Sse-ma-tsien.

From the time of the proscription of books and letters, a great Scholar of Ts'in, named Fu-seng or Fu-sing concealed a copy of the Shu in a wall of his house, When the tempest was past, he set about to look for his

treasure. He found it in the place where he had put it, but a great portion of it had been taken away. Twenty-nine books of it only remained. Soon he began to explain these to some disciples (eager to recover indications of the past), and without informing the Court. He could not in fact be certain of the reception which would be given to his discovery.

This happened in the year 175 B.C. about forty years after the work of destruction, and the proscription of the Chinese Omar. But the report of it quickly spread and the Emperor Wen-ty (178-156) made him deliver either a copy or the original of the recovered texts. Besides, numerous literati hastened to the school of Fu-seng to collect these teachings of his, and became themselves editors and commentators of the monuments which had so happily escaped the flames. They founded different schools, of which many have remained famous ; let us quote only *Gao Yang Seng* and *Y-huen*.

Moreover, can we be reasonably astonished that many literati had recourse to this means of safety, the most natural in the case and the only one, besides, which was in their power? No, unquestionably not. If in a town threatened with pillage, the inhabitants concealed their precious objects, once the danger was past, would they not find that wealth in a similar kind of spot?

Nothing is more evident. In every point the second discovery of the vanished texts presents a specialty of which it has been thought advantage might be taken, and which we ought to examine more closely. The history of the *Shu* bears that the discovered text by K'ong Gan Kuo was written in ancient characters which were nearly undecipherable to him, and that he understood this ancient text by means of the modern text which Fu-seng had found or written from memory. It has been concluded therefrom that Gan Kuo could not have understood the books which had been discovered, and that they were not comprised among those which Fu-seng explained, and that consequently all those which he has bestowed on his contemporaries and the following generations were purely and simply forgeries of his own,

This is going rather too far; because Gan Kuo has not told us how he came by the understanding of the *Shu*, of the *Li* &c. it cannot be inferred that he has himself made them out of nothing; and because he was helped by Fu-seng's text to understand the manuscripts in ancient characters, may it be deduced that the celebrated editor of K'ong was incapable of understanding anything of it? All of this it must be confessed is a logic rather loose and by no means certain. The consequences of the hypothesis

are altogether different, and if it was true, it must have been that Gan Kuo had himself written these books in characters which were unknown to him, or that every other had done the same labour, and had imposed his fraud on all the literati of the empire, without any one having perceived it in the very least. This were to place oneself in the world of miracles.

There is, in every view, a book which Gan Kuo has certainly not invented. It is the *Shi-king*, which was in existence prior to the *Ts'ins*, and whose authenticity is undeniable, and this fact alone overturns all the scaffolding of the argument. We shall return to this point further on.

An account a little different from that which precedes is given us by the celebrated K'ong Gan Kuo who lived towards the end of the second and the commencement of the first century B.C. According to him Fu-seng would have taught the *Shu* king from memory. This in no way contradicts the narrative of *Sse-ma-ts'ien*; both of these may be true.

In this which we are about to set forth there cannot be anything that ought to inspire distrust. Nothing is so simple and congruous as all this. Whoever wished to secure the escape of some precious book from the search of the despot's satellites, had doubtless no means more certain and natural than to "wall" them in his house. Every other expedient would have been full of dangers; if they had been placed underground the books would have rotted; elsewhere they would have been discovered.

It is very astonishing that these evidences should be passed by in silence that others more recent and in no wise worthy of confidence might be brought forward. That the history of the former *Hans* should record marvels wrought at the discovery of the *Shu* and some other classics in the house of *Kong-fu-tze*, what has that to do with the matter? Did not Cyrus become a hero in legends (so to speak) before his death? Did he the less exist because of that? What has not been said about Charlemagne in the romances of the Middle Ages? Would the great emperor become, because of that, a *Fu-hi* or a fabulous *Hoang-ti*?

Does the finding twice of books concealed in the walls prove the poverty of the imagination of the forgers? Certainly these *forgers* had not a sterile fancy, since they were able to invent all the fables our author recounts!

On the third argument we shall only say a few words.

That the *Shu-king* may not be worthy of credit because it contains a good number of legends or improbable things; this would in nowise prove, doubtless, that it had been fabricated at fancy. This would on the contrary give it more antiquity, and the genuineness of its composition would

be more probable. In fact the more we go back towards the original ages, the more are fables accumulated in the historical or literary monuments of the people. The reverse is as truly the case; but it is the less frequent fact. Altogether, the argument is of no value, and we leave it now, to speak of it further on.

We now come to the principal objection against the antiquity of the Shu-king. It is that the names of the personages who figure there, are purely fanciful, and the proof of that is that they consist for the most part of names of districts, countries, people, and even of stars in the firmament.

Criticism has already been passed upon this argument by Prof. de Lacouperie¹. It was enough in his view to make the remark that the forgers would have been prophets and would have taken for their invented heroes names *which did not yet exist*.

The anathema includes all that concerns the times previous to the emperor Yao. This we have no need to defend since the Shu knows nothing of it. We shall throughout observe the characteristic feature.

Hoang-ti could not exist since he is qualified, among other epithets, of Yu-hiung, "possessor sovereign of Hiung," and that Yu-hiung is the name of a country *Yu-hiung-ti* (?)

Let us remark first that this is an imperfect translation. Yu-hiung-ti is the country of him who possesses Hiung and not the country Yu-hiung (the Yu-hiung country). Thus Hoang-ti cannot be *Yu-hiung* because it is known that that quality existed! Besides, as to the explanation of this term we refer to a paper² of Dr. de Lacouperie, of which at least some account should be taken.

As to the remainder and that which concerns the time referred to in the Shu, these are the remarks which inspire what has been said to maintain this opinion.

(a) If the alleged forgers have done what has been suggested they were downright imbeciles, people of the worst possible tact. They wished in fact to impose on their contemporaries by making them believe in the reality of the personages of romance of which they were the creators, and for this they take only names whose mere aspect betrays their imposture! It would be a miracle of folly.

C. DE HARLEZ.

(*To be continued*).

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

VOCALIC HARMONY IN LYCIAN.

Now that the sound of the Lycian letters has been accurately determined, it is possible to discuss the phonetic laws of the language. For a table of the whole alphabet it is sufficient to refer to a learned paper by M. Imbert in this Magazine for September, 1889, but there are four letters which require especial notice.

	originally	 	 	= a } from Greek  , 
  	originally	 	 	= o } from Greek  , 

The Lycian coins (see Six, *Monnées Lyciennes*) clearly shew that **A** and **V** are the earliest forms of \ddot{a} and o , nor can there be much doubt that the rare form **Y** is the earliest shape of \ddot{o} . It is therefore almost certain that \ddot{a} and \ddot{a} are in shape, as well as in sound, differentiations of the single letter a , and o and \ddot{o} of the single letter o .

The most important phonetic law of the language will probably be detected at the first glance by any unprejudiced scholar who examines a transliteration of any well preserved passage of Lycian. The beginning of the inscription of Rhodiapolis reads as follows:

äböññö : prñnafo mänä prñnafatö | iyamara :
tärssikläh tidäimi mali | yahi fädröññähi aχotaza
mäpibiyäti | prñnäzi: sättäri adaiyö mänä ñtafoto |
(p)ibiyäti: tärä äbühö mäiyänä hrppitoti | &c. &c.

No one can fail to remark how strings of modified vowels occur in some words like äböññö, fädröññähi, and äbühö, and strings of unmodified vowels in others like iyamara, aχotaza, and ñtafoto. Indeed modified and unmodified vowels are not found in the same word, except in prñnafatö and adaiyö; now prñnafatö is formed from the common word prñnafa,

"a tomb", with the verbal suffix -*tō*, and *adaiyō* from the equally common *ada*, a coin, with the suffix -*ō*. If therefore this passage proves to be typical, it would follow that *a*, *o*, are not found in the same words with *ä* or *ö*, except in suffixes. Or in other words that Lycian stems shew a strict system of vocalic harmony by which the strong vowels *a* and *o* cannot be combined with the weak vowels *ä* and *ö*; but that suffixes are not necessarily harmonized.

An examination of the whole remains of the language shews that this rule holds good throughout. But as it is impossible to discuss every word, it may be enough to take as a specimen the South, East, and part of the North side of the Xanthian stele. On these there are about 450 words, excluding the incomplete; and nearly 380 of them observe strict vocalic harmony even in the suffixes. Excluding repetitions there are 55 words not entirely harmonized, and 8 at least of these are foreign proper names (*iyauusas* = *Iaσσος*, S, 47; *krzzonasä* = *χερσόνησος*, S, 48; *mukalä* = *Μυκάλη*, S, 48; *χafaläś* = *Καβαλένς*, E, 17:—*waspä* = some Persian name in -*aspes* E, 37; *ñtariyäusähä* = *Δαρείον*, E, 59; *ärtaxssirazahä* = *Αρταξέρξον*, E, 59: and *äriyamona* = *Ιεραμένης*, N, 12). Of the 47 remaining words, 36 have the discordant vowel in a distinct suffix; and the same is apparently true of the rest, except three words, *asäti*, E, 37; *tübona*, S, 50; and *adämö*, E, 61; and one proper name *Arufotiyisi*. It will be more convincing to give a table of the discordant suffixes.

I. *a* joined to the stem by the connecting semi-vowel *y*.

1. *äbäi-y-a*, E. 61 from *äbäi*, Ant. 5, &c.
2. *tuminähi-y-a*, E. 61 from *tuminähi*, E. 40.
3. *kumäzi-y-a*, E. 54, &c. from *kumäzi*.
4. *zomiti-y-a* S. 36.
5. *mädbi-y-a-hä* S. 43.
6. *trufäpäi-y-a-di* E. 33.
7. With these class *tupäli-y-o* S. 33.

This suffix seems sometimes to mark the plural.

II. *ä*, marks Dat. Sing. in proper names, otherwise generally Dat. Plur.

8. *arafazi-y-ä* E. 46 from **arafazi*.
9. *(araf)azi-y-ä-di* S. 27 „ „ „
10. *arafazi-y-ä-dä* S. 16. „ „ „
11. *χboni-y-ä* S. 40. from *χbonä*. S. 39.
12. *mali-y-ä-hi* S. 38. from *mali*, Rhod. X. b. 7.
13. *z_χxazi-y-ä* S. 3 from *z_χxaza* E. 77.
14. *χñtafati-y-ä* E. 64. from *χñtafata* X. 8. &c.
15. *partai-(y)-ä-di* E. 33. (reading *y* for *s*).
16. *suχina-y-ä* E. 63,? proper name, Dat. Sing.

III. *dä*, shewn to be a distinct suffix by *arafaziyä-dä*, but of unknown meaning.

17. *tarbi-dä*, S. 41.
18. *toma-dä* E. 3.
19. *adru-dä* E. 48.
20. *a-dä* E 55.

IV. *mō*, a verbal suffix.

21. *sttati-mō* N. 7 from *sttati*, N. 5.

V. *-hä* marks the Genitive.

22. *hota-hä*, E. 56 &c. apparently proper name.
23. *atla-hä*, S. 18. from *atla*, a common word.
24. *padrota-hä-di*, S. 32. from *padräta*, N. 51.

VI. *tä*, (add-*tä*), the commonest verbal suffix.

25. *prñnafa-tä*, S. 17. from *prñnafa*, a common word.
26. *zñxø-tä*, N. 3. compare *zñxø-na*, S. 49.
27. *wast-tä*, S. 42.
28. *ast-tä* E. 50.
29. *ma-tä* E. 18.
30. *ubuho-tö* N. 4.

VII. *tä* appears to be also an adjectival suffix.

31. *arñna-tä* N. 20.¹ from *arñna*, Xanthus.
32. *χñtafa-tä-hi* N. 8. from *χñtafa*, cf. *χñtafa-za*, W. 67
33. *χñtafa-tä-di* N. 10

VIII. *zö* forms the ethnic of a town in *pttara-zö* (coin) of Patara.

34. *χurza-zö* E. 44. perhaps from a town.

IX. *ta*.

35. *munäi-ta*, E. 20, but *munaiti*, Myrä. 6, from *muni*, W. 27.

X. *nä*.

36. *χba-nä*, S. 39 ; compare *χba-ti* Lim. 8.

All these are practically certain; of the remaining eleven words, 7 have the discordant vowel in what is almost certainly a suffix.

-lä in *χallä*, S. 6; and apparently in *pina(l)ä*, E. 30.²

-ga in *χäri-ga-hä* S. 5; and *χazi-ga-hi* S. 26.³

-sä in *lax-sä* S. 44.

-ra in *χ(k)ibu-ra*, S. 11.

-na in *χribbi-na-hä*, S. 20 ; but this name may be Carian.⁴

From this examination it appears that stems always harmonize, and as a rule suffixes also.

As a further illustration I have made a complete list of 200 personal names, of which only 24 (excluding undoubted foreign names) fail to harmonize completely. Of these, 22 have the discordant vowel in the last syllable, which may either be proved or fairly presumed to be a distinct suffix.

Taking into consideration the whole remains of the language, the majority of words harmonize throughout; and in the rest, vowels which do not harmonize are confined to the last syllable, or to a known suffix, except in 13 words, 11 of which can be shewn to be exceptional (perhaps incorrect) forms of words that elsewhere are regular.

They are : aladähali X. 1 } = exceptional forms of aladahali, which
 aladahäli X. 4 } occurs six times.
 ärafaziya, twice for arafaziya, which appears 5 times in different cases.
 padräta, N. 51, elsewhere padrota, S. 32, and padrita E. 53.
 { pränafatö, Pin. 4, almost certainly miscopied for prñafatö.
 { prñafatö, Pinara 3, exceptional form.
 ñtöfotö, L. 11; but ñtafoto, Rhodiapolis and Sedek.
 tabona, S. 50; but tabona, S. 47.
 wanufiti, L. 12.
 asüti, E. 37.
 ad.më, E. 61.

äsonomla? N. 40. This is an interesting instance, because the engraver appears to have wavered between asonomla (as W. 54) and äsönömla (äsinömla W. 37), and has produced a letter not found elsewhere which is neither quite o nor quite ö. The other two exceptions are proper names.⁵

The most clear and convincing proof of the existence of vocalic harmony in Lycian is to be found in the declension of common nouns. Nouns whose stems contain a or o have -o and -a (or u) in the Accusative, -a in the Dative Plural, -a-hi in the Genitive; nouns whose stems contain ä or ö have -ö and -ä in the Accusative -ä in the Dative Plural, and -ä-hi in the Genitive; proper names have a different declension, and will be discussed presently. Examples of common nouns are:

Accusatives : lado, prñnafo	but	äböññ-ö, äböññ-ä.
„ arafaziya	but	talöziyö.
Datives Plural: lada	but	tidäim-ä, äpünöñä.
„ atla		lihbäz-ä, äsädäññä.
„ maliy-a		ähbiy-ä.
„ maraziy-a		äbäiy-ä.

These are, I believe, almost all the certain instances of these cases; Genitives are far more numerous. I give as complete a list as possible, omitting those that have neither strong nor weak vowels in the stem.

maliy-a-hi	but	äbiy-ä-hi.
atl-a-hi		ähbiy-ä-hi.
adm-m-a-hi		prñ näziy-ä-hi.
mahan-a-hi		tälöziy-ä-hi.

χssadrap-a-hi	ib-ä-hi.
nagur-a-hi	äsb-ä-hi.
hri _χ ñtafat-a-hi	ñartämähi.
padrit-a-hi	füdröñm-ä-hi.
pddot-a-hi	ön-ä-hi,
	pñträññ-ä-hi
	ñtärafat-ä-hi.
	ahät-ä-hi.
	üptt-ä-hi.
	ät-ä-hi.
	är-ä-hi.

The following forms are exceptional :

maliy-ä-hi, once, for maliy-a-hi, three times.

χñtafat-ä-hi, once, but hri-χñtafat-a-hi.

In the case of proper names, the Dative Singular almost always ends in -ä, even in the names Adamñna-y-ä, χufata-y-ä, and suχina-y-ä; however we find hñproma and apparently arttuñpara and uräbillaha as Datives Singular. The -hä of Genitives Singular of proper names seems never to be harmonized.

From all this the following general rule may fairly be deduced—

Rule. The Lycian vowels are divided into three classes,—strong (a and o),—weak (ä and ö),—and neutral (n and i).

Stems containing strong vowels admit no weak vowel, and vice versa. Neutral vowels may go with either.

Suffixes are generally brought into harmony with the stem; but not necessarily.

It is hardly needful to point out that this feature of Lycian is markedly characteristic of the so-called Turanian or Altaic languages. It does not necessarily follow that Lycian belongs to that family, but it does follow that it is neither Aryan or Semitic.

In Lycian, if anywhere, will probably be found the key to the inscriptions of the Hittites, who perhaps may have been linguistically, as well as geographically half-way between Lycia on the west and Media and Babylonia on the east.⁶

NOTES—

1) True reading : Arñnahä.

2) I prefer this reading to pinare, as nearer to the old reading pina ne.

3) The value of the letter which I give as g is still uncertain.

- 4) Carian letters appear on the coins of this dynast. Arbessis is a Carian name.
- 5) The two exceptional proper names are very likely foreign. They are the already mentioned arufotiyäsi; and ur:billaha.
- 6) For a most brilliant conjecture as to the true affinities of Lycian, see Dr. Pauli's 'Eine vorgriechische Inschrift von Lemnos,' Leipzig, 1886. Prof. Sayce has always maintained that Lycian is not Aryan.

W. ARKWRIGHT.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE ANCIENT CHINESE
SACRED BOOKS.

(Continued from page 48).

Imagine a French historian who, in order to give his natal country a deceptive antiquity and to endow it with a long line of princes, calls these contraband heroes Orleans, Burgundy, the Rhone, or even Sirius, Aquarius, Capricorn, or Aldebaran! It would not bear discussion.

(b) This criticism forgets that the Chinese proper names cannot be anything but words of the language, and must consequently have quite a fixed signification in the vocabulary.

(2) That spoken Chinese is made up of hundreds of monosyllables, each of these having necessarily a considerable number of significations and, besides, representing a large quantity of different words which cannot be confounded, and which the written characters distinguish exactly. Thus *Ku Seu* (*Koo Sow*) the name of Shun's father, has nothing in common with *Keu Seu* (*Keu Sow*) the name of a mountain or of a tribe. It is true that if *Po-yu* and *Pa-yi* are the same thing, *Yao* and *Tchiao-yao* are identical, whatever may be the corresponding graphical character. This will free us from all future discussion. Let us proceed.

After having replied negatively to the previous objections, by showing their weakness, it remains that we enquire whether there are not positive arguments which authorize us, or, more than that, force us to deny to the literati of the Han the paternity of the old King which form the only

ancient annals of China.

We believe that there are many arguments, and that our task will not be one of the most difficult. We might discourse at length upon the different points, but, desiring to spare the time of our readers and the space we ask in the RECORD, we shall be as brief as possible without being incomplete. Here then is a resumé of the reasons which do not permit us to remain in doubt that the Shu-king was anterior to the destruction of the books, and had not been composed by forgers after the restoration of letters.

1. For a long time previously China possessed some historical documents known under the name of *Shu*. Tseng-tze not only quotes these annals, but the names of many books of the present *Shu*, for example, the *K'ang-kao* (*Shu* V. 9), the *Tai-kia* (iv. 5), the *Yao-tien* (*Shu* I. 1). (See *Ta-hio* II. 1-3) and the *Ts'in shi* (see *Shu* v. 50—*Ta-hio* xi. 14). And the terms of it are reproduced even literally, with the same characters (cf., e.g., *Shu* iv. 5. 1, 2, and *Ta-hio* II. 2. *Shu* V. 9, 3, and *Ta-hio* II. 1. *Ibid.* V. 9, 7, and 9, and III. 2 X. 2, *Shu* v. 9, 22, and *Ta-kio* xi. 11.) Lastly a long passage of the last book of the *Shu* is reproduced in the *Ta-hio* xi. 14, but with some variants and some words which more or less show that the one has not been copied from the other.

Other quotations of the *Shu* in the mouth of Kong-tze himself are found in the *Lun-Yu*, II. 22 (cf. *Shu* V. 21, 1), and xiv. 43, recall the silence kept by Kao-tsung during three years. It is true there remains the resource of pretending that the Confucian books have also been fabricated by our forgers; but this remedy is so "heroic" that we decline to contest it. It would be to lose our time. It would be necessary, besides, to rank in the list of the *forgesies* the book of Meng-tze himself, since numerous quotations from the *Shu-king* have been found, as well as from the *Shi*. We confine ourselves to recalling Meng-tze I. 2, III. 7, which reproduces *Shu* V. 1, I. 7, with variants which do not change the meaning, but prove an independent edition and the absence of concert to deceive the readers. The same observation holds relative to Meng-tze I. 2, XI. 2 =*Shu* IV. 6, 2; III. 1, I. 5, and IV. 8, I. 8, &c. &c., to which passages must be added all those, to a great number, in which Meng-tze recalls some facts related in the *Shu* which concerns Yao, Shun, Yu, Wen, and Wu-Wang, the Hia, the Tang, the Tcheou, &c. &c.

It is the same with the philosopher Mi-tze anterior by about a hundred years to Meng-tze, and who brings his contingent of testimony to the existence of the *Shu* as of the *Shi* at that epoch (4th and 5th centuries B.C.) In the *Kiuen* VIII among others he confirms his assertions seven

or eight times at least by recalling the words of the *Shu* 若書之說 or *Siang Wang tchi shu*. He speaks besides of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu-Wang, the three dynasties of the Holy kings, &c.³

From the *Shi* which he calls the *Tcheu shu* he quotes the *Ta-Ya* (*Tcheu shu ta ya*) and especially the beginning of Book III. Ode I., which he reproduces entire. “Wu Wang is in the light on high. Although the principality of *Tcheou* may be ancient, his imperial mandate is recent. If the *Tcheou* are not illustrious, the mandate for this has not come in his time. Wu Wang ascends and descends, he is at the right and at the left of Ti, &c., &c.”—Mi-tze attributes a great deal of importance to the *Shu*, because it says: “If the *Tcheu Shu* (the *Shi*) spoke only of the souls of the dead, and if the *Shang-shu* (the *Shu* King) is ignorant of this, that would be sufficient for us to make it the rule 商書不鬼則未足以泥爲也. It will be well therefore to examine the *Shang-Shu*, and to see what it says.” Mi-tze seeks to prove that the human soul survives the body.

Tehuang-tze, a philosopher of the 1Vth or Vth century B.C. is not less explicit. In many points he recalls the whole history of Yao, Shun and Yu (Ch. II, XI, XII, XIV, &c. &c., or the deluges and the labours of Yu (Ch. II, XVII, &c.), or the tyranny of Kie and Sheon and their dethronement by Tang and Wu Wang (Ch. XI, XIII, &c.) He also constantly quotes Fu-hi, Shen-nong and Hoang-ti.

The *Tcheou-li* speaks of the Books of the three *Hoangs* and the five *Tis*, which proves that their legends were known before the age of the *Hans*. We might again quote *Siuen-tze* and other authors, but what precedes is sufficient.

Nobody can maintain that all the Chinese literature anterior to the *Ts'ins* had entirely perished, and that all of which we are in possession had been composed by fancy a little before our era, and that following on a proscription of some years. We are sure that no high critic can hold such a view. Let us proceed.

Another conclusion is drawn from the testimonies we have just quoted. The primitive *Shu* was not a book held so secret and concealed that only some initiated persons would know it. The facts which were there related were not mysteries for the learned world, and the recollection of them could not be completely effaced. It would have been then impossible for those fabricators of texts to cause to proceed from their pen a quite imaginary history of ancient China without calling forth indignant protests. For this a universal conspiracy

would have been necessary, and sound reason does not permit us to suppose this. Some author, some unknown philosopher who would have conferred a benefit in which the instructed public interested themselves very little, might have done so ; but to give thus to the Empire annals which it had never had, to create numerous and important personages of whom no one would ever have been heard to speak—this exceeds all belief.

3. The age in which the narratives of the Shu-king begin is another proof of its antiquity. All the historians of the Han knew the desire of their masters to carry back the origin of their dynasty to Hoang-ti himself ; thus all made this emperor appear in their pedigree.

The grave and sincere Sse-ma-tsien sacrifices—even he—upon the altar of the time, and commences his Historic Memoirs with the reign of Hoang-ti and his dynasty while separating from it as well as he could the legends which were formed about his name.

The alleged forgers had certainly, more than all others, need of the imperial favour ; they would never have failed to take the best means of assuring themselves of it. Far from that, their pretended work excluded all the titles of glory in which the Han appear ; for it commences only with the reign of Yao, and the model of princes is not the ancestor of the reigning princes, but of the sovereigns who have had no connection with him and whose glory on the contrary they have eclipsed.

4. The more we advance in the examination of the question the more the theory of forgery is thrown into the shade. But that which above all renders it improbable is the Shu-king itself, by its contents, its external form, and its literary character. Nothing is more opposed than these contents to the nature of a work composed by one or a number, at leisure and on reflection, with the object of making their romance pass for an authentic document. In a work formed of this material we should always find a certain unity of plan, opinions, mode of composition and style ; it would be more or less methodical and continuous. Now the Shu is exactly the opposite of all that. Far from being a history of connective annals of which the different parts present a sensible uniformity, it is composed only of fragments detached and incongruous forming a whole bizarre and full of lacunæ, such as a writer seated at his desk would never have been capable of conceiving.

This is too well known for us to need to enter upon its detail ; let us recall it once for all.

The first book gives us, not indeed a history, but some ordinances of

the three first emperors, some sittings of their council, some orders given by their different ministers, the nominations of these personages, some acts selected from their administration—all this in the way of presenting a model of government for future ages.

The second book (*Hia Shu*) contains four chapters which have no kind of connection between them : (1) Division of the imperial territory and fixing of the revenues of the countries made tributary through Yu. (2) The battle of Kan-tchi, speech of the sovereign (Ki, son of Yu) to his generals. This event is separated from the preceding by a lapse of 80 years. (3) The culpable conduct of the King Tai Kang, son of Ki. Satirical and elegiac song of the five brothers. (4) The misdeeds of the astronomers *Hi* and *Ho*; the emperor Tchong Kang (brother of Tai) orders Yin to punish them; speech of Yin to his officers.

After this the history of the Hias ceases, and the *Shu* passes to the punishment and dethronement of the last sovereign of this dynasty by Tang. That is in the book of the dynasty Shang Yin which forms the third of the collection. There we have again some scattered facts, quite independent and nearly always related only to explain the occasion of a wise discourse pronounced by the sovereign or one of his ministers, or discourse which forms the principal object of the corresponding chapter. We pass thus from the downfall of the Hias (1766 B.C.) and its immediate consequences to the transfer of the capital two or three centuries after (1401 or 1315 according to the Chronologies). Then from an incident in the reign of Kao tsong (1323) we are carried to the end of the Shang dynasty by an exposure of the crimes of its last representative (1150) and, after two short chapters, we come to the rebellion organized by Wu Wang to overthrow the incorrigible tyrant Sheu. It is the fourth and last part (the fifth for Prof. Legge).

Of this we shall not give a consecutive analysis; that would be long and superfluous. We only remark that after some narratives and certain discourses relative to the struggle of Wu Wang against the despot, we find there the *Great Instruction*, a detailed resumé of the sciences of the age; after that 25 chapters relate various facts and discourses of the reigns of Wu Wang and his son Tching-tang, then a short chapter reproduces a discourse of the king Mou-Kong who reigned five centuries later (659-621); and that is all.

I ask all my readers without hesitation: Is this the work of writers composing at leisure a fanciful history? Very few, I imagine, will reply in the affirmative. Forgers would certainly have followed some order.

some harmony, some sequence in their work as their contemporaries of correct and veracious meaning, such as Sze-ma-tsien, Pan Kou, and others have done. Besides, having been able to create name and facts and actions for the most ancient sovereigns proceeding from their own imagination, they would not have found themselves in any difficulty to continue this *forgery* up to the XIIth century, and we should have seen ranged in their annals a whole series of kings of the Teheou dynasty on to the Ts'ins without lacuna or incongruity. But it is not only the totality of the Shu-king which renders impossible a qualification which is gratuitously given it; the greater part of its books or chapters are of such a character as to render the new hypothesis absolutely improbable. Everything here bears the character of the original work, spontaneous and fresh, which conceals nothing of the secret of its origin. But here we must be arrested by some facts only to prevent ourselves from passing beyond just limits.

1. The author of the Memoirs of the first three reigns recognizes distinctly that he is not contemporary with the events he relates. To him it is antiquity, and he is not even the author of these relations; he writes according to the evidence of others who have studied the ancient annals.

2. In many passages the author does not name the sovereign of whom he is speaking in the passage in question; it is simply *the king WANG*. We see that these are extracts from the more complete annals drawn up from day to day. The forgers do not take this plan: (see in particular Book II, ch. 2 *Han-tchi*; Ch. 4 *Yin-tching*, &c).

3. The simplicity of the narrative, the naïveté sometimes reaching to absurdity, mark without any doubt a genuine composition. There is thus, for example, in the story of the submission of the Miao in connection with the dances executed in the court of Shun (see chap. *Ta-Yu-Mo*, at the end). We remark, besides, that this passage, like many others, is out of its place; which would not have occurred in a work by experienced forgers.

4. Some passages such as the Elegy of the five Brothers are absolutely inexplicable in a work of this kind. Such pieces do not accord with the habits of the historians of the Han dynasty. The very style of this song proves its genuineness. Everywhere else the style is concise and elliptical: but in this little poem it is quite developed as in spoken language.

5. What contrasts equally with supposed forgery, is the complete absence of the fables or marvellous stories with which the literati of the

Hans would have embellished their Historical Memoirs. Sse-ma-tsien himself had not been able to escape from this fault, and the first book of his Sse-Ki may be said to be filled up with it, although he is more sober in this than his competitors. In the Shu we find indeed some legends some facts attributed to the first sovereigns in an improbable manner or without sufficient proof; but the excess is not in the supernatural; it scarcely exists except in the impossibility of one man accomplishing all that is attributed to him, or in the improbability of such a great number of acts done by a single prince.

6. The creed and customs of which mention is made, or which are set forth in the Shu, in no way correspond to those which were in vogue under the Han. The worship of Shang-ti so preëminent under the first Emperors did not exist further, so to speak, than the age of these last princes; the rules of divination, the functions of the officers and magistrates such as those which are set forth in the chapters *Hong-fun* and *Tcheou-kuïn* correspond in nowise with those which were in full strength not only under the Hans and the Tsins, but even under the Tcheous of the decadence. Everything was developed to a considerable extent; some other names had been admitted, &c.

7. The author or the authors of the Shu-King had specially in view the placing in relief the best principles of government. It was this they sought to do under the speeches, notices, instructions; the facts are for them of mediocre importance as may be seen in the chapters of the battle of Kan-tehi and the expedition of Yin, and many more.

Now there is here yet one characteristic quite opposed to that of historical works of the supposed forgers, who sought more for facts than for royal and ministerial harangues; it is moreover that of the work of the ancient historians described as from the interior or from the right 右, charged to relate internal facts, discourses, deliberations, &c.³

8. Besides the style, the language, the characters employed in the Shu-King are, as every one knows, quite different from those known at the time which has been assigned to its composition; the style, constantly elliptical, has there a conciseness which renders it very often obscure; this fashion was already considerably modified under the Han. A good number of the characters in the Shu had already fallen into disuse and had been replaced by others. It is sufficient to compare the corresponding passages from the old king and from the Sze-ki of Sse-ma-tsien to convince oneself of the difference of their styles.

We refer all those who are tempted to admit the hypothesis of the for-

gery, also to the works of Dr. De Lacouperie relative to the nature of the characters of the Shu and of the Shi, to the double value throughout, &c.

9. Another proof of the authenticity, in the meaning in which we take this word, is furnished us by the short Memoir or the historical Annals found among the books styled of Bambou. These books, as we know, were discovered in the tomb of Sieng, sovereign of Wei, who died 295 B.C. Their genuineness, it is true, has been exposed to doubt, for people will doubt everything ! But it is attested sufficiently by the evidences of contemporaries most deserving of credit; by the mode of the discovery which caused a part of these precious documents to be taken to pieces; by their very nature, a large portion having been judged unworthy of being preserved; by their conclusion, where they have stopped at the epoch in which the prince, in whose tomb they were concealed, died, when a profane hand brought them to light.

Forgers would not have allowed to perish in this way the fruit of their industry. Besides, it is improbable that they would have hidden it in the tomb of a petty sovereign of an insignificant state where none could ever expect that any one would go to discover it. We do not understand moreover, what reason one of the literati of the epoch of the Hans would have to fabricate annals terminating in the year 295 B.C., and having no special interest to anyone of his age, or how a forger would have limited himself to bold statements of an ephemeral brevity.⁴ The writers of that class generally affect great length, extraordinary stories, a bombastic style, and would never think of informing us that in "the 50th year of his reign Yao took a drive to Mount Sheu in a simple chariot drawn by black horses !"

It is to be remarked besides that the Annals of Bambou relate as to the ancient Emperors Yao, Shun, Yu, &c., some facts which we do not find recorded in the Shu, which proves an independent origin, even as to these times and princes. There is even as to chronology a considerable difference from that of the Shu. The Annals give us probably the true standard of Yu's works 治河 He put the Ho in order, and regulated his court.

Finally, nothing proves the authenticity of the Tehuh-shu so much as the very style of that work. There are some impersonal Annals without any subjective appraising, and without any prodigious deed. Their editor follows the order of the years, and when one or more years are not marked by any salient act, he simply gives their figure, "4th year" "5th year,"

without any addition. A proof this, that he has drawn nothing from his own imagination. More than this, when the royal armies experienced a check which obliged them to take to flight, the matter is recorded in all its simplicity, as if it related to a foreign and distant country. Five times under the single reign of king Hien (367-313) the author describes the rout of the armies of his country without seeking by even a single word to diminish the shame of the defeat.

We observe, lastly, that if the Shi-King, whose authenticity cannot be seriously contested, affirms that the Shu was not a historic work in the strict sense of that word, it is quite authentic at least in this sense that it has been composed in an ancient age, and represents faithfully enough the aspect of the time of which it speaks, apart perhaps from the first chapters, of which nothing can be certainly said for or against them. Thus we find in the Shi the dynasty of the Tcheous with its illustrious princes who began it and made an end of the Shang line, as also that of the Shang-Yin with Heou-tsих the ancestor of the Tcheous, and even the repeated mention of the works of the great Yu,⁵ whose importance it may be has been simply exaggerated. If Yao and Shun do not figure there, that proves only that none of the Shi had been composed in their age, and that the poets of the one dynasty did not believe they were composing anything useful or agreeable to the Master by boasting of the illustrious predecessors who were not among the number of his ancestors. In any case the legendary or fabulous deed even which they could attribute to a sovereign did not at all prove his non-existence. Otherwise it would be necessary to banish Cyrus and Charlemagne, for example, amongst Hercules, Perseus, and Rhadamanthus.

We see, besides, by those songs of the Shi-King which mention them, how true it is that the names of Yu, of Heou-tsих or Shang have been imagined by the jesters of the last century of the ancient era. We may conclude from this what must be replied as to the others.

We have left aside the whole legendary history of China before the age described by the Shu-King. It is not that we concede this without reserve. We do not believe in the very least that it has the origin which is supposed. Many of the texts anterior to the destruction of the books attest their existence before that fatal date. But its sources being absolutely unknown to us, we have preferred to keep it outside of the discussion.

Many of our readers will perhaps find that we have made them lose a good deal of time in fighting against a cause lost from the first. We put aside condemnation, and lay down the pen.

NOTES—

- 1) *Le Muséon*, vol. X, Jan. 1891, p. 143.
- 2) *B. & O. R.*, vol. IV, pp. 246-264.
- 3) The commentary Tching of the TCHEOU-LI, L. xxvi., Art. WAI-SSE, *init.* quotes the collections of discourses of the kingdoms of Tshi and of Lou (*Yu*). Such is to it the nature of the Shu-King. (Cf. the Kouo-Yu.)
- 4) We manifestly do not speak except of the text itself, and not of the absurd commentary which is attached to it. As to the pygmies, we know that their existence is no longer doubtful : that 没羽 which they bring as tribute are feathers from their bodies, is a gratuitous assumption.
The fact 地長丈餘高一尺。— which appears extraordinary in Legge's translation, signifies simply that a fragment of earth was raised an arm's length over a distance of ten feet.
- 5) See among others II. 6, VI. 1; III. 1, X 5, III. 3, VII. 1, &c.; III. 2, 1, 3, 4, 2, &c. &c.

C. DE HARLEZ.

FROM ANCIENT CHALDEA AND ELAM TO EARLY CHINA :
A HISTORICAL LOAN OF CULTURE.

(Continued from p. 44).

V. PRE-CHINESE LEGENDS OF THE WEST.

33. The great strides made in Chaldeo-Chinese researches in the way of demonstrations of the loan of Babylonian and Elamite ancient culture to the early Chinese,³⁵ have been such that comparative studies of the legends of Mythological Sovereigns of Chinese books with the early rulers and divine beings of Ancient Chaldea and Elam are also coming forward. These legends have come down to us in so dilapidated a condition that some distinctive features must have disappeared in the transmission. Hardly anything about them can be found in the writings of the Confucian authors, as the great philosopher of Luh had himself disconcerted all that was mythical and fabulous in the traditions preserved in his country. On the other hand, the ancient Taoist writers, unfettered by a similar restriction, and perhaps too much earnest with the reverse system, have collected in tradition and literature all the fragments they could discover concerning these remote rulers. A large amount of undue inferences, extraneous mat-

ters, and fabulous embellishments added to the original accounts must therefore be stripped away before any use of these documents is made for comparative purposes.

Let us call attention to two of these legends.

A.—*Sargon and Shennung.*

34. In *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* of July, 1888, on the occasion of my researches leading to the conclusion that *Wheat* (had been) carried from Mesopotamia to China, in early times, I gave the legend of Shennung as it occurs in ancient Chinese literature, and I pointed out once more³⁶ its identity with that of the old Sargon. An experienced Assyriologist Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, dealing afterwards with that same subject,³⁷ not only concurred entirely with my identification, but he completed it to some extent with further points of similarity. The Chinese account is so close that only for those who are either prejudiced and willingly blind or who have not studied the matter, it is impossible not to admit it as a version of the Chaldean legend with slight divergences.

35. The close resemblance of the two names, which appears when taking into account the phonetic corruptions on the Chinese side, was not considered then otherwise than in a foot note (No. 11), where I pointed out that Shennung, looked upon as a corrupted form of *Sarru-kinu*—*Sarganu*—*Sarginu*, would stand on the same footing as *Shinar*—*Seunaar* stands to the older *Singar*—*Singiri*.

Now I think that I am enabled to show that the corrupted Chinese form *Shen-nung* conceals from view an old form of the name which is somewhat identical with that of the old Chaldean ruler also in sound.

36. The name of the celebrated hero of Chinese legends is variously written therein, viz.: 神農 *Shen-nung* or Divine husbandman, 先農 *Si-en-nung* or First husbandman, and afterwards 皇農 *Hwan-nung* or Imperial husbandman. The three appellatives are therefore qualifications of *Nung*, which besides its common meaning, is one of the oldest family names of the Chinese³⁸.

Nung in its original acceptation means agricultural pursuits³⁹, and not to cultivate the ground or to dig, separately. It represents in its present form two ancient characters, that which was its antecedent, with its meaning of husbandry, and that which was specially applied to the hero. The palaeographic forms, with references to the special texts and inscriptions where they are to be found for verification are given in the special works of Min Tsi-kih⁴⁰, and Fu-lwang-siang⁴¹, and without sources in the Tung Wei-fu. The two characters were fused into one at the time of the reform of writing by Szetech'ou in 820 B.C.⁴³

37. For its rural sense, the symbol was composed as follows: *Shen* 辰 growing or pregnant, and *lin* 林 forest or 艸 *tsao* grass, placed over it, as indicating country life and objects. Thus composed, the sign is a complex ideograph without any apparent suggestion of phonetic combination, and was read *Nung*.

38. The other form is also a complex ideograph, but with phonetic suggestion. *Shen* is the lower part of the complex, as in the rural form. The upper part was not formed of *ku* 臼 a mortar, or *Si* 西 west, and *hiung* 𠂔 unlucky or *ts'ung* 𠂔 a skylight, as suggested by later etymologists busy with preconceived views and speculations, both native and European. It was on the contrary formed of two other simple characters, namely, *kuh* 扌 holding, as happily suggested in the latest edition of the *Shwoh-wen*, and 𩫑 *no* an old and undeveloped form of *nao* 脳 brain. The archaic dialectal sounds of these three component parts TCH'E X- KUH - NO look so singularly like an attempt at transcribing the name of the Chaldean SAR-GA-NT, that considering their accompanying a legend which is obviously imitated from that of the old Sargon, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the identity cannot be doubted.

39. In the Chinese legends and cosmogonic speculations, Shennung is said to "have reigned by the influence of the element Fire," and is consequently⁴⁴ entitled in modern sounds YEN TI 炎帝, which means literally "the Blazing Ruler." So far as we know, it may be the rendering of a foreign name, either in sound or in sense, if not in both capacities. The symbol *Yen* is a phonetic which has 54 derivates, to which it imparts its decayed sound of *yen* in fifteen cases only, and its older sounds of *tan* and *shan* in the thirty-nine others. These sounds are those of the mandarin dialect which has not preserved the *-m* amongst its final consonants. Verification made in the more archaic dialects of the South shows that *m* was the original final of the words above quoted, a fact confirmed by the tonic dictionaries⁴⁵, the phonetic equivalences of the Han period, and the rhymes of ancient poetry⁴⁶. Therefore TAM and SHAM or perhaps a medial form DZAM+TE or TEK, making *Dzam-tek*, was the oldest pronunciation of the name now corrupted into *Yen-ti*. Whatever may be the Suniero-Akkadian name, if any, which was the antecedent of the Chinese form, the recent suggestion of an equation between the emasculated and modern form *Yen-ti* with an appellative of EA, supposed to be read EN-TI,⁴⁷ is not acceptable.

40. *Tam-teh*, *Dzam-teh*, or *Sam-teh*, which have no close resemblance with *En-ti*(?), would recall much better *Tihamti*, *Tiamat*, should affinity

of sound be sufficient, but there is no possible resemblance between the goddess of the primeval watery abyss, and the fiery deity and husbandman Shen-nung. Now, in comparisons of Sumero-Akkadian loan words and names in Chinese, I have long ago⁴⁸ remarked that a hushing or hissing sound of the former is sometimes represented by a dental sound in the latter. Such being the case *Tam-teh* or *Dzam-teh* might be a corrupted form of *Shamash*, the sun god⁴⁹. Should this equation prove correct, and there is no reason to put forward against it, so far as we know, the case would be interesting, when considered with reference to the equation Shen-nung=Sargon, as we do know that Sargon has worshipped Shamash⁵⁰; but we do not know that he has ever taken a surname in which the name of the Sun-god would appear as that of a protector. On the other hand the meaning of *Tam-teh* as "Blazing suprême" applies very well to the identification here suggested. And it just happens that Larsam was the city where Shamash was specially worshipped⁵¹, and that we find it also in another appellative of Shen-nung.

41. This other name of Shennung-Sargon which deserves some attention is that of *Lieh-shan* on which I have made some remarks previously. *Li t-sa n*, *Let-sa n* are the old pronunciation of the name of the country where Shennung is said to have lived,⁵² and its ancient sound is ascertained by the fact that three symbols have been used interchangeably to indicate the first syllable and that all three were *lit* or *let*. As in Chinese orthoepy there is no *r*, it often happens that the surd dental makes duty for it, and in the present case *let* might be a suitable equivalent for *ler*, and a weakened sound of a former *lat* for *lar*. Thus *let-san* may be for *Ler-san in which form *Larsam* is easily recognized. The coincidence of Samash as a surname, and of Larsam as the place which he inhabited, is too strong to be looked otherwise than as a distinct proof in favour of our view.

42. It is not necessary to repeat here once more the general features of the legend of Sargon in comparison with that of Sheng-nung. This has been done already in the columns of *The Academy*,⁵³ and at full length in the pages of the *B. & O.R.*,⁵⁴ where it is easily accessible to those of our readers who may wish to refer to it.

43. The legend of the Chinese Shen Nung or Tchen-kung, contains no less than seven proper names : *Anteng*, *Nhenti*, *Tamdam*, *Eket*, *Letsam*, *Sohsha* and *Uluk*, which were suggested⁵⁵ by me to be the rendering of Anzan, Nanit, Timdum, Akkad, Larsam, Susa and Uruk. And certainly the series is highly significative of a close and intimate contact, between

the civilisers or teachers of the Chinese and the Chaldeo-Elamite culture, as all these names are connected geographically in time and history.

44. A further reason in favour of the identification of the legend, if not even that of the name of the hero, is that it belongs to a series whose several groups of similarities and identifications have been more or less completely indicated already. Isolated comparisons and haphazard suggestions of identifications, based upon a similarity of sounds, dangerous in any case and still more in the present, would be of no avail for getting at the truth. Nothing would be gained from any departure from the usual method of historical criticism which alone will permit us to sift properly all the circumstances, facts and environments of the questions at issue.

NOTES—

35) The views of different character become scarcer and gradually untenable as shown most clearly by the last efforts which present a complete absence of proofs, internal or external, and exhibit only a blind acceptance or an unjustifiable criticism. Among the first may be referred to, the paper *On Chinese Chronology* by Prof. James Legge, read at the Victoria Institute on 3d March, 1890. Among the second I shall mention *Chinese Antiquity*, J.R.A.S. July 1890, pp. 511-525, by Mr. Herbert J. Allen who alleges that the Chinese classics have been mostly forged under the Han dynasty. Prof. C. de Harlez, in his able article, *On the Antiquity of the Ancient Chinese Classics*, appearing in the B. & O. R., has silenced all possible objections of that kind. The Rev. Ernst Faber, advantageously known by some previous works on the moral philosophy of the Chinese, but not on the archaeology and palaeography of the country, and unaware of the progress of Chaldeo-Chinese researches, has taken up the cudgels in favour of a self-development of the Chinese writing, in his paper on *Prehistoric China*: Jour. China Br. R.A.S., 1890, vol. xxiv, pp. 141-220. The author wants his readers to believe that the Chinese writing began towards 2000 B.C. with one hundred elementary characters, increased to 500 in 1200 B.C. when ideographs began, and to 1000 in 800 B.C. when phonetics began, and finally reached the number of 9353 in the Shwoh wen of A.D. 100. The Rev. E. F. is all along under a delusion, and his paper displays a painful lack of preparatory research on the subject. As truly remarked after his lecture by Dr. Edkins, he places himself in opposition to Confucius, to Mencius, to the Han dynasty scholars, to the classical school of the T'ang dynasty, to the Sung dynasty school, and to the scholars of the present dynasty, who have carried research much further than it had been carried before, and in a perfectly independent manner. He is also against the intrinsic evidence of the Shu-king itself.

36) *Wheat carried from Mesopotamia to early China*, pp. 184-192 (Repr. 9 pp.)—Cf. also the interesting letter of Dr. Alph. de Candolle of Geneva on *The Wheat indigenous in Mesopotamia*: B. & O. R. 1888, p. 296. The first time in my article on *The Chinese mythological List of Kings and the Babylonian Canon*: The Academy, Oct. 6, 1883; *Traditions of Babylon in early Chinese documents*, ibid. Nov. 17, 1883.

37) *Shen-nung and Sargon*, ibid. pp. 208-209.

38) Cf. *Peh Kia sing*, No. 320.

39) *Shwoh wen*, adapt. by Chalmers, No. 236.

40) *Luh shu t'ung*, kiv. I. 14.

41) *Luh shu fun luu*, sub verb.

42) *Tchwen tze wei*, sub verb.

43) On this reform cf. T. de L., *The oldest book of the Chinese*, par. 24, and *Beginnings of writing around Tibet*, par. 55.

44) W. F. Mayers, *Chinese R. M.*, I, 609.

45) Such as the *Kwang-yun*.

46) Cf. J. Chalmers, *The Rhymes of the Shi king*, class VI, group B.

47) The suggestion has been made in the paper on *The first three of the five autocrats*, previously quoted.—It is a fact that EN+TI are the individual sounds of the two symbols forming a name of Ea (Brunn. List. 2831) but they may be a complex ideogram having a different reading altogether. The symbol ÉNU *lord* is the first component part of some twenty different names of Ea, interpersed in the pages 135-140 of the said list. Some have a reading indicated like shénnu (2933), Sin, Nusku, Anu, Ada, Nabu &c., others have not, like EN-KI, EN-TI, &c. There are in the list about 75 divine names, in the fore-quoted pages.

48) T. de L.: *The Affinity of the ten stems of the Chinese Cycle with the Akkadian numerals*: The Academy, Sept. 1, 1883.—Rev. C. J. Ball has given instances of the same phenomenon in his *Ideograms* No. 12.

49) There is also in sound a strong resemblance with Tammuz the Sun, god of Eridu, but there is nothing else in its favour.

50) Cf. A. H. Sayce; *Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 167.

51) Larsam the modern Senkerch at first, and Sippara afterwards, were the two most important places of Shamash worship. Cf. *ibid.* p. 168.

52) *She ki*, *san hirang pen ki*, fol. 2.

53) *The Chinese Mythical kings and the Babylonian Canon*: The Academy, Oct. 6, 1883.

54) *B.&O.R.*, vol. II, July 1888, pp. 184-185: August 1888, pp. 208-209.

55) In the four articles referred in §1.—A tradition in China attributes to Shennung descendants half-fish-half-men. (Cf. T. de L.: *The fabulous fishmen of Early Babylonia in Ancient China*, 1888, p. 4: *B.&O.R.* vol. II, p. 224). It may be a vague souvenir of the fact that Sargon's rule extended to the sea-shore of the Persian Gulf.

b. *Kudur Nakhunte and Yu Nai Huang-ti.*

45. In another paper⁵⁶ I have given reasons to believe that the name of Nakhunte, chief of the gods of Susiana, and assumed in that capacity as part of their surnames by some of the kings of the country, was the prototype of Yu Nai Huang-ti, formerly pronounced Nakkonte, the name of the first leader of the Chinese. He may have assumed the name in imitation of that borne by the actual king of Susiana, and his legend may, in the course of time, have been mixed with recollections of facts and

circumstances proper to that king himself. Sinologists agree to admit that so far as the Chinese empire is concerned, *Yu Nai Huang-ti* is mythical and must have lived elsewhere than in China⁵⁷. Now it is not impossible that *yu* although generally used as a prefix as we have explained elsewhere, may have taken the place of a similar sound expressed by another character, and this for the sake of propriety and regularity which has pervaded and altered so many foreign names in Chinese literature. In that case *yu* would correspond to *ku* for kud, kudur, and the whole name *Yu Nai Hwang-ti*, might be in its old form *Ku Nak Kunte* the representative for instance of Kudur Nakhunte or any other such name.

46. A much more interesting matter at this juncture is the Chinese legend of Nakkunte himself.

He was a man of *Sho-dze-n* or *Sho-d-e-n*⁵⁸ (Sushan or Suedin) his tribe was that of the *Kom* offspring⁵⁹ (cf. *Kam* family in Sumerian), and he was called *Kom—the-long-robed*⁶⁰ apparently from his garments in the eastern fashion. In his time the generations of *Shen-nung* (Sargon—dynasty—) were exhausted, their ministers were cruel to the Bak tribes, prevented them getting salt and imposed upon them heavy taxes, until at last *Kom—the-long-robed* took up arms. He fought against them with *Gan-lom* and the help of the *Kon-pe* (Khomba?), *Kiu-fu* and *Ti-kiu*⁶¹ (tribes) in the plains along the *Fan* source (i.e. Reverting source, a tidal river? the Phrat?) ; and after three successive battles, he succeeded in imposing his will. The *Tch' yeu*, a people reckoning years of ten months, being still rebellious, he killed their chief in a battle near the *Tökluh* (=Diglat? the Tigris) and then became Emperor. His mother was from *An-teng* (=Anzan?). He begat twenty five sons⁶².

47. In another paper we have given the sources where his legendary history has been written,⁶³ and in our paper on *The deluge tradition and its remains in Ancient China*, we have quoted and compared with deities of the Chaldeo-Assyrian pantheon three personages from whom Nakkunte is reputed to have sought advice⁶⁴. It will be sufficient here to enumerate them as follows: *Tsem-lo*, *Le k-m u h* and *D z u m-t a n h* which we have assimilated to *Samila*, *Lukmu* and *Samdan*.

48. *Tch'i-y e u* 蚤尤 anciently *Shih-üu*, or *Tchit-yu*, or *Shui-rüu*, is looked upon in the Chinese legends as the first rebel,⁶⁵ because he is the first one against whom *Yu-Nai Huang-ti* in his capacity of leader of the proto-Chinese Bak families had to fight against. The identification of a similar name to his in Anterior Asia with its surroundings would be an important addition to the circumstantial evidence gathered in this and

others papers. The country of his or his tribe or people is said to have been called *Kiu-li*, 九黎 anciently *Ku Li*. They were famous for their handicraft in manufacturing metallic weapons, and the legend gives this detail that nine foundries were established by them⁶⁶. Their chief was one of eighty-one brothers.⁶⁷

The latter detail refers perhaps to eighty princes his predecessors. The peculiarity of having years of ten months which we have previously mentioned is undoubtedly a Semitic feature. It seems that the name *Kuli* or *Kuri* points to a similar direction, as it looks like a recollection of the word *Ak harru*, *Kharu* among the Egyptians,⁶⁸ which was the Assyro-Babylonian name of Syria.

49. The legend of Yu Nai Huang-ti here given reproduces the facts and the names it contains speak by themselves. Assyriologists cannot fail to recognize a familiar aspect in the whole affair, and a statement of facts befitting to the circumstances of the time we suggest. Might not this account contain distorted, garbled and mixed allusions to Kadur Nakhunte of Susiana fostered on the shoulders of the leader of the Bak tribes, his contemporary?

NOTES—

56) *The Onomastic Similarity of Nai Huang-ti of China and Nakhunte of Susiana* : B.&O.R. 1890, vol. IV, pp. 256-264.—Reprinted, Nutt, Luzac,—10 pp.

57) Cf. J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, p. 82, intr.

58) Modern sounds, *Shao-tien*.

59) *Kung sun*.

60) In modern sounds *Hien yuen*.—Like the Assyro-Babylonians the Chinese rulers wore long and flowing robes.

61) Old sounds of *Hung-pei*, *Kiu-hu* and *Pi-hiu* given by Szema Tsien.

62) Cf. the authorities in *Tai ping yü lan* K. 79, f. 1-8.—and also Szema Tsien. *She ki*, Kiv. 1, f. 1-5.—His twenty-five sons call to mind the same number of sons of the first man in the Bundehesh of the VIIIth century A.D.

63) *Onomastic similarity*, par. 5.

64) Par. 23—B.&O.R. 1890, vol. IV, pp. 90-91.

65) The accounts about this legendary being are found in the following works: *Shu king*, Part. V, Bk. 17, par. 2.—*Kwoh yu*, Tsuh yu, 2.—*Tchu shu Ki-nien*, Part. I, 1.—*Shih-tze*.—*She ki tcheng y*.—*Hwang-fu Mi*, (A.D. 275-282) *Ti wang she ki*.—*Lung yü ho t'u*, 400 A.D.—*Lo Pih*, *Lo shi*.—*Shan Hai king*, XVII, 3, 4. And among European works: W. F. Mayers, *Chinese Readers Manual*, I, 115.—J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, introd. p. 108 and p. 590.

66) As stated by Shih-tze who was flourishing about, 280 B.C.

67) Cf. *Lung-yu ho t'u*.

68) G. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, ed. IV, p. 175.

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436.—Cf. T. de L.: Pre-Akkadian writing: *ibid.* Oct. 1886, p. 548.
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T. DE L.

ERRATA TO NOTE on the YENISEI INSCRIPTIONS, vol. V. No. 2, p. 28.
Yenisei Column, l. 11, for \wedge read \rangle ; l. 22, after '8: add '7; l. 30 (35) and l. 33 (43) for \boxtimes read \boxtimes . *Uigur column*, l. 3, for 3: read 8. *Yakute column*, l. 9, for the second i read i. *Mongol column*, l. 8, 9, z and z are meant to be bracketted as representing one sound; l. 19, for o read ö. *Ostyak Samoyede column* l. 1, for 15·3 read 15·8; l. 5, for 9·3 read 9·8; l. 7, for t read a; l. 10, for 8· read '8; l. 12, for 2·3 read 2·8. *Kott column*, l. 2, for r read a. In this column, t, p, k, represent aspirated letters, though d' has to imply that d is followed by a y sound. Here and in the other columns, ñ=ng, ñ=gh, ñ=sh.
Page 29, l. 24, for 1878 read 1738.

THE BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE YENISSEI INSCRIPTIONS.—PART II.

I.

There is a point at which the resemblance between the words and grammatical forms of certain languages becomes so close that their family connexion is admitted as a matter of course; whether this point has been nearly reached with regard to the language of the Yenessei Inscriptions, the reader must judge. I will next give a few instances of case-endings and post-positions. It will be remembered that the Inscriptions read from right to left.

1. The Mong. Comitative *luga, luka, luge*.

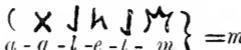
In Ins. i. 2 we read;—*ghuuliq: uea: lug* (or *luk*,    *djmdjkza*). Here, whether the translation I have suggested (*The Academy*, Sept. 20, 1890, p. 251) be correct or not,—*luk* (=*luka*) is the post-position and case-ending of the word *ghunliqueu*.

In Ins. iii. 1,2 we have:—

   =: *zeloua*-*louka*.
with - - the - stone

Zeloua or *zeloua*=the Mong. *tzolo*, 'rock' 'stone'. *Louka* is the exact Mong. form. Hence, also,  (=the Rune-form  *k*)=, which, as we have seen (*sup.* p. 235), =, the Rune-form *k* (*q*).

In Ins. vii. 3 we have—

 =: *ml-e-lga*.

with-kind-every-of-cattle

Here, *ml*=Mong. and Buriat *mal*, "cattle of every kind," *Lga*=*luga*, the variant Mong. form. *E* is the Dat. ending of nouns ending in *l*;

so we have noun + case-ending + post-position. An examination of a number of words in the Inscriptions satisfies me that **Η**, a form of the Kypriot *e*, = *e* or *ei*. Thus the word **ΜΤΗ** (Ins. i. 2) = *equq* (vide *inf.*), 'monument'. So **ΜΤΗ** (Ins. iii. 2 : viii. 3), **ΜΤΗ** (Ins. xii. 4), **=ΙΩ>Η** (Ins. x. 1), *ekout*, an example of the use of nine different forms for four letters. **Η=Η** the same form reversed; **>=Τ=Ϊ**, **Τ=Ω**, and **Ϊ=Ρ**. It is clear that this word begins with a vowel, and **Η** is certainly not *a*, *i*, *o*, or *w*.

In Ins. xviii. 3, we have:—

o> & J: >> J 1 >
a-k- uo-l : o - - l - e - z = zel: o - louk: a

For γ as e , vide Ins. xxxii. 5, (sup, p. 234).

In Ins. xxii. 1.e have:—

a-k- uo-l; ê- a- ê-t-i=itêuê louka

Vide also $\text{J} \geq \text{J}$ (Ins. v. 5), *louka*.

2. The Mong. plural in *ut*—the word *khan* and variants.

The forms of the word *khan* which occur in the Inscriptions, supply illustrations of Prof. de Laconperie's exhaustive article *Khan, Khakan, and other Tartar Titles* (*B. & Q. R.* Nov.-Dec. 1888).

In Ins. iii. 6, we have:—

TYTNY) > J: YMAYTAYMAY) A
 t-u-n- a-e- z-k-jd: i-e-x-t -u-e- u-n- e-e-u-
 = { xaaenu-aut-xei : djkzaa-nut
 khan s+particle great

J seems to be derived from the Gothic Rune **G** *j.* *Djka*=the Mong. *jeke*, Buriatic *jike*, *jixe*, 'great.' *Nut* is a Buriatic plural-form.

In Ins. v. 6 we have:—

ජාටුනු ගොනු ගොනු = keo-kanue-out
t-u- e-u-n- a-k-o-e- k }

—Mong. *Khakan-ut*, “Great Khan s.”

In Ins. xvii. 5, we find the form (read from left to right);—

קְרַבְתָּךְ: אַתְּ אַתְּ
k-rav-tach: a-tt-e-at-t

In Ins. iii. 6 we have the form:—

$$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{TYF. } \text{M: T} \gg \text{YY} \\ u-u-e-n : u-a-hk-hk \end{array} \right\} = khkhavneuu$$

Mr. A. Wylie renders this word, which occurs several times in "une inscription en caractères Pa-sse-pa," dated 1314, "G'akhanu, i. e., Khakan

(vide *B. & O. R.* Dec., 1888). The first letter Ψ , which is repeated, is a Runie *k*, and we may notice both the omission of vowels, *e.g.*, the α between Ψ and Ψ , and their needless insertion, whether in accordance with the principle of "vocalic support" or otherwise (vide R. B. Jr., in *The Academy*, June 28, 1890, p. 448). Ψ , it may be observed, has also the value of *kh* both in Lykian and Karian.

The form **¶**. The letter *u* appears in the Kadmean alphabet as, as **Ν**, the Thrakian **Μ**, the Attic (5th cent. B.C.) **Ν**, the Karian **Μ**, **Ν**, and the Lykian **¶** &c. But in the Gothic Runes **Ν** is a form of *h*, and **Ν**, as noticed (*sup.* p. 235) of *y*. Now it is quite clear from such examples as *æga-Μ-hsχi* (Ins. xxxii. 4; vide *sup.* p. 234), = *æga-e-hsχi*, 'elk,' and *khkhan-Μ-enu* (*sup.*), that the form **¶** sometimes = *e*, and sometimes = *u*. But such a use points clearly to two distinct origins; and hence, I think we may conclude that **¶** with an *e*-power is the Gothic Rune **Ν(y)**, whilst whilst **¶** with an *n*-power is the representative of the Thrakian and Asianie **Ν**.

Ins. vii. 1 (which is distinct from the rest of the Inscription) reads:—

This appears to be *Ökhötei ol Khakan*, “Ökhötei, he (is) the Great Khan” (vide R. B. Jr., in *The Academy*, March 22, 1890, p. 209. I will not enter here into the question of the proper names in the Inscriptions). *Ol* is the Tchagatai *celui-là*. *¶*, with 5 other similar forms, is a variant of *Ψ*. Similarly, the Karian alphabet shows 9 variants of *Ψ, kh*.

As to Θ , vide *sup.*, p. 237. $\Theta = o$ in the Kadmean, Thracian, Attic (5th cent. B.C.), Lykian and Karian alphabets; but the sign is not found in the Gothic Runes. $\Theta = r, hr$, in the alphabet of Ulphilas.

Khoka=*Khaka-n*. Probably *o*=*ou* (vide *inf*.). In Mong. *n*-final frequently disappears. *e.g.*, *mungu-mungu*, 'silver'; *morin-mori*, 'horse'; *tzolou tzolo*, 'rock'; *galon-galo*, 'goose.'

↑ʌ>ʌ=↑ꝝ>ꝝ (Ins. xii. 1) *ukut, oukout.*

The interpunction often divides words, e.g. *Khkhau-neun* (sup.)

In Ins. vii. 2 (which is distinct from line 1) we have:—

⇒ λ(γ, η) ⇒ λ η } = ouka ouelmæ.

Ouelmæ = the Mong. *öömelmei*, explained by Schmidt as "heiliger oder vornehmer Personen." The Inscription, therefore, reads:—"The Khakan, a holy [sacred] person"; and this exactly agrees

with an Inscription on a silver paizah, "found in the government of Yenisei," and which is translated by Schmidt;—"By the strength of the eternal heaven may the name of the Khakan be holy. Who pays him not reverence is to be slain." (Vide Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, i. 271).

3. Some other words.

Ins. xii. 4 : **ХИМХ**=enie. Cf. Mong. and Buriat *ene*, 'this.'

Ins. xv. 2 : **ДОГН**=*ənəwə*. Ditto.

Ins. v. 5 : **ДОГН** **И** **Е**=*əqneə*. Cf. Mong. *ekoni*, 'him.'

Ins. v. 6 : **СИЧИЧИЧЕЧИЧ**=*əneneuae*. Cf. Bur. *enenehe*, Ablative of *ene*.

Ins. iii. 1 &c. : **ДОГН** **И** **Х** } =*zelouə* }

Ins. iii. 4 : **ДОГН** **И** **Х** } =*zelou* } = Mong. **{** *tzolon* **}** = 'stone.'

Ins. xx. 7 : **ДОГН** **И** **Х** } =*zelou* }

Ins. xxi. 3 **ДОГН** **И** **Х** } =*zelai* }

In Ins. xiv. 1 we have the peculiar form:—

ДОГН **И** **Х** **Д** **Х**
ē-q-ə-a-z- x-e-λs-k

In line 2 it appears as:—

ДОГН **И** **Х** **Д** **Х**
i- x-ə- u- z- x-e-χs-k

We may compare this and connected names as follows:—

1. **{** *k-sχ-e-χ-z-a-ə-q-e* **}** = Yenissei Ins. forms.

2. *tz-i-χtz-iχz-i-χ-i* = 'a magistrate' (Mong. ap. Strahlenberg).

3. *k-e-sh-i-χ-i* = the Persian royal guards.

4. *k-e-sh-i-χ-an* = the Khakan's body-guard.

II.

Inscription ii. is cut irregularly on the lower part of an upright Stone of a somewhat phallic type, and "aussi ornée de figures de cerfs [elk?] et de sangliers." The Inscription is on the side of the Stone which bears the figures of the elk, and not, except a letter or two, on the side bearing only figures of wild-boars. The monument in the form of a human figure which Strahlenberg gives a Plate of, and which on its back bore characters in the Yenessei script (vide Ins. xxx.), is phallic, and was, he thinks, "designed for a Priapus;" so that phallic symbolism is not foreign to the locality. I give the following undogmatic attempt to transliterate and translate Ins. ii.:

1. The Inscription and transliteration.

❖ 》 〽 X ❖ 〽 Y ❖ 〽 X 〽 X	1.
æ - z - u - y - æ - l - e æ - u - hg	
❖ X 〽 A 〽 Y	2.
æ - g - q - u - æ - u	
X 〽 : 〽 A 〽 : X 〽 Y	3.
g - t : a - æ æ - ð - g - u - u	
) 〽 1 〽 A 〽 Y 〽 : 〽 E 〽 A 〽 1	4.
a - t - i æ - ð - g - u - u ; e - e - z - u - u	
〽 〽 〽 A 〽 〽 〽 〽 Y 〽 〽 〽	5.
ē - e - d - x u - x - s - æ - q - uo - u	

We meet here with 3 new forms—❖, ❖ and 〽.

❖. This somewhat obscure form appears to be the Gothic ȝ, which, amongst others, had the powers *ge, gg*, and would probably = the Mong. *gh*. Similarly, the Gothic ȝ is the reduplication of ȝ. It may also be observed that) is the Karian *g*, so that on the principle of reduplication, 〽 would = *gg* in Karian.

❖ is probably derived from 〽, a form of the Gothic Rune *othil* (o, æ, at times = Mong. a), thus;—❖—〽—❖.

〽 is the Gothic Rune *dag, d*. In Ins. xxx. 3 it appears as 〽, which is also a Karian letter.

2. The Inscription in Yenissei, Tehagatai and English.

Yen. GHUQE ELOEGU-ZE 1.

Tcha. *Gurah ala-ǵa-čé*.

A memorial to-an-encampment.

Yen. UQEUG-QE 2.

Tcha. *ok-gu*

At-the-pillar.

Yen. UUG; OQE CEO :TG 3.

Tcha. *ogu-r ao-t(e)g(en)*

Good-luck in-the-chase.

Yen. IUZEĒ: UUGOE IT-A 4.

Tcha. *u'a ogu-r id-a*

A shelter (and) good-luck for-food ;

Yen. UOUQESXU 〽 DCEĒ 5.

Tcha. *oqaesxi (?) kette*

an-elk great.

NOTES.

Line 1. GHUQE, GHUΛ. The Tcha. *gurah* (=gu-w-ah, *guah*) is rendered by Vámbéry 'zeugniss', 'temoignage'; and, hence, as applied to a

ELCEGU-ZOE. Tcha, *alagua*, "la tente chez les Turkomans." ZOE
=Tcha, *ée*, a post-position, sign of the Dat.

Line 2. UCEUQ-GC. Tcha, *ök*, 'pillar.' Cf. Osmanli *dh-aiaq*, 'pillar.' GE=Tcha. *ge*, a sign of the Dat.-Locative.

Line 3. UUG:ÔDE=UUGÔDE. (Line 4). Tcha. *ogu-r*, *our*, *Os-*
manli oughour, 'bonheur,' 'sort heureux.' For illustrations of connected
u- and *r-* terminations, vide Schott, *Über das Altai'sche Sprachen-*
geschlecht, pps. 71-3, in *yoc*. *kara-kür*.

‘E.O. Tcha, *ao*, ‘chasse,’ Osmanli *do*. What TG stands for must remain uncertain: it is evidently a contraction, perhaps for the Mong. Locative *tegen*, for, as Vámbéry observes of some of the dialects of the Central Asian nomades, “le langage originaiement ture est entremêlé de beaucoup de mots mongols” (*Cagataische Sprachstudien*, p. 283). But it may stand for the Tcha, *taki*, Osmanli *dakhy*, ‘also.’

Line 4. 1UZEEÉ, Tchá, *uča*, "a shelter."

IT-A. Cf. Mong. and Buriatric *ide*, *idjen*, *idjeng*. "food." A=Dat. termination of Mon. nouns in *n* and *ng*.

Line 5. **UOUQES_XU.** The text reads *Uouies_Xu*, and, if this reading be correct, I would compare the word with the Tcha. *ücki* 'goat,' 'buck.' But the animals delineated on the Stone appear to be elk; and, as noticed (*sup. p. 234*), Ins. xxxii. has preserved the Arintzi elk-name *œqæs_Xi*. I therefore venture to amend the text by reading **q** (*q*) for **X**. The former compares thus:

I. The forms compare thus:—

Ins. ii. **ʌɒɒɪʌɒɪ**} = 'elk' = *uonqæsχu*
 Ins. xxxii. **101)444**} = 'elk' = *æquesχi*

U is a form of noun-ending alike in Mong. and in Arintzi; the *u*-final softens into *i* on the Law of Least Effort principle.

χΔΕΕ. Tcha. *kette*, Vigur *ket*, 'great.'

ROBERT BROWN, Jun.

FROM ANCIENT CHALDEA AND ELAM TO EARLY CHINA:
A HISTORICAL LOAN OF CULTURE.

(Concluded from p. 70).

c. Other Heroes.

50. The comparison between the Chinese legends and the list of kings of the mythical period must be carried on systematically, otherwise no final result can be obtained. In my articles on *The Chinese Mythical kings and the Babylonian canon* and on *Traditions of Babylonia in early Chinese documents*, I have pointed out the general arrangement of the Chinese lists, which are not to be found in the books of vulgarisation, such as Mayer's, Summer's, &c., and *tutti quanti* where only a summary is given as in our ordinary school's books. They must be referred to in the original works. No satisfactory assimilation can be arrived at until such a comparison of the Chinese lists with the Babylonian Canon has been carefully worked out.

For instance *Fuh-hi* or *Pao-hi* who appears in books of vulgarisation as the first of the Chinese fabulous rulers, figures in the list among many others; he was, according to probabilities, the first, of these rulers, with whom the Pre-Chinese or their civilisers from the borders of Elam had anything to do, whence the special veneration applied to his memory. As to an assimilation of his name, which is double, *Tai Hao Fuh-hi*, or great *Hot-Bak-ket*, I have suggested that it might be the Chaldaean *Ur-Bagash*,⁶⁹ inasmuch as it is stated in the list I have referred to that he made a written compact with *Tehu-siang* the leader of the Bak families. *Dam-kit*, modern *Tsang-hieh*, of the Chinese list, the improver or inventor of the writing like prints of birds claws, i.e. the cuneiform characters, is apparently the great *Dungi* of Chaldea.

51. Many other names of the list in consecutive order agree with those of the west in similar order as might be seen from a comparison with the aforesaid canon.

52. Taking into account the peculiarities of the Chinese phonetics, such as the absence of R and its equation by K or T, and the great difficulty to ascertain the vocalic sounds of the ancient words, we may

compare the consonantic skeleton of these two names of ancient Chaldea and Early China, viz.:

Anc. Chald.: uR—Ba Ga Š
Early Chin.: hoT—Ba KKe T

DuM G i
DuM K et

Their resemblance arranged thus becomes much more striking, than when presented otherwise.

53. However close might be the legends found in China concerning the rulers of the mythical period with those of Chaldeo-Babylonia, we cannot expect a narrow identity. These legends were known to the civilisers of China in an unliterary and unscientific manner. Like many items of their early civilisation they came to them by social intercourse, and not as the result of a regular teaching without intermediaries. They were part of the current folklore, and when put into writing by the Chinese, they could but be rendered approximately. We have had occasion to call the attention of scholars on this important aspect of the case.

54. The evidence gathered in this paper is a part supplement to those enumerated in the chapters hitherto published, pending their completion and issue in a book form, of the writer's Summary of the proofs of the Origin of the Early Chinese civilisation from Western sources. Readers who have and those who have not seen this Summary, may perhaps in reading these pages have conviction either carried to their mind or confirmed as to the genuineness of these disclosures, and the historical veracity of the loan of culture adverted to there. And now that, after twenty years of toil and ten years of repeated publications on the subject, the author of the present pages has received the written acknowledgement of his disclosures by more than a score of specialists, including most of the prominent scholars in Assyriology and Sinology, it is not without confidence that he makes appeal to more workers in the field, and begs to address a few remarks and warnings to new comers.

55. It is best that they should be aware of the difficulties in the way, and of the proper means of making work useful to the science of history as in that new field of enquiry, amateurish work must be avoided that class of scientific research requires a training as any other sort of work. An acquaintance with books of vulgarisation on Assyro-Babylonian matters does not do for the purpose. This condition is well recognized by Assyriologists and does not require any comment as happily in that direction extensive and most useful works are now at hand to help the scholar.

56. The same remark applies forcibly to the Chinese side with the difference that scientific works are there painfully lacking. There are too many writers who, because they have been in the East and can read Chinese, candidly believe themselves thus qualified to discuss with competency the difficult and complex problems of the Archeology of China. Without analysing and discriminating between the exaggerations and fables of the native works, some have been too easily inclined to throw them over and to disbelieve anything of China before Confucius or even before the Han dynasty. Let us state that such a sweeping rejection is not more critical than would be a blind acceptance. Tradition and legends in the various authors must be checked by comparison and by internal external and circumstantial evidence. And such a work is a long one.

57. In pursuing the Chaldeo-Chinese researches to further the demonstration indicated by the title of the present paper, it must always be remembered in such comparisons and the search of synchronisms, that the loan of culture has taken place several thousands years ago, and that the borrowing party has continued to live. These conditions imply for it a certain amount of self evolution and progress, with inevitable alterations and modifications as in all cases of transmission of tradition even in writing, while the other party has remained crystallised in the inscribed tablets of Assyro-Babylonia.

58. Documents and traditions must be sifted with care on both sides, and isolate resemblances and similarities cannot be accepted as evidence until they find support either from others of the same kind or from circumstantial proofs. All efforts must be made to reach at the oldest forms of the Chinese documents, the only ones acceptable in questions of origin and derivation. For instance, in the case of the written characters, the *Siao-tchuen* style illustrated in the *Shwoh-wen*, must be carefully avoided because it is the outcome of two or more previous modifications. I have given in my papers on *The Old Babylonian characters and their Chinese derivates*, 1888, § 8, *Le non-monosyllabisme du Chinois Antique*, (1889, Paris, Leroux), and on *The oldest Chinese characters*, (The Academy, 15 June, 1889), all the available information from Chinese sources.

59. Unless one wants to run the risk of beginning afresh a work already done and painfully toil after a disclosure already known to the scientific world, it is necessary to be acquainted with the present state of the researches, and such of their results which have been made good, as it is an imperative duty of a scientific writer to his readers to be *au courant* of the other works published on his subject and to avail himself

of the help, positive or negative, they may give him to push forward his researches

60. Enquiries on ancient civilisations, their beginnings and their evolution are peculiarly attractive and tempting, but they are full of pitfalls. Without a strict observance of the principles of the historical method of criticism there is no greater possibility of getting at the truth in Chaldeo-Chinese archeology than in any other field of history. And let us remember in concluding, that the first results now secured from these Chaldeo-Chinese researches have been to destroy conclusively the anomalous isolation to which prejudice had hitherto consigned the people and language of China, and to restore them to their legitimate place in the history and evolution of mankind.

ADDITIONAL NOTES—

Add. to §2.—These four papers of mine are additional to *twenty* books, papers, articles, and notes of Chaldeo-Chinese researches published by me since 1880, and whose titles will be found elsewhere. This peculiarity was probably unknown to the author of a note on the third and fourth papers in the *Revue Critique*, 2 Mars, 1891. My critic finds the commentary on the Cosmic tree “intéressant et en partie nouveau,” and thinks that my thesis about the Chaldean and Chinese civilisations requires to be more substantially established than in these two pamphlets. He is quite in the right, and it is with that object in view that I have published the *twenty* other works which he has not seen.

Add. to Note 1.—The *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* (tom. vii. fasc. 3. pp. 328-354) contains an elaborate paper by Dr. Raoui de la Grasserie, entitled, “Des recherches récentes de la Linguistique relatives aux langues de l’Extreme Orient, principalement d’après les travaux du Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie.” The author in clear and forcible language, explains, with the necessary amount of evidence, the important discoveries of our contributor on (1) the primitive non-monosyllabism of Chinese and other so-called monosyllabic languages; (2) the Origin of tones; (3) the Origin of the Chinese writing; (4) the action of hybridity in the formation of present Chinese; and (5) the psychical importance of the rule of position which is the main feature of the isolating languages. (*The Academy*, May 9, 1891, p. 446).

Add. to Note 2.—On this work Cf. the valuable articles of Mr. Alfred Maury in the *Journal des Savants*, 1889, Aout, pp. 473-485 and Sept. pp. 557-566. This great scholar intended to write four articles on the subject, but a sudden ill-health prevented him continuing.

Add. to §8, l. 6, after the Babylonians themselves, read as remarked by Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen.

Add. to §11.—The late entombment of many cities on the way from the west to N. W. China, and therefore the greater facility of communications in olden times than afterwards is further proved by—(1) the dis-

covery of the Bactro-Chinese coins anterior to the Christian era in the buried cities of the desert, as described in my monograph *Une Monnaie Bactro-Chinese Bilingue du premier siècle avant notre ère* (Extr. C. R. Acad. des Inscript. et B.—L. 1890),—(2) the recent discovery of a Birch Bark Manuscript at Kuchar from a buried city (*Proc. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Nov. 1890):—(3) the *Hest Iklîm* geography (Quatremère, *M. et Extr. des MS.*, vol. XIV) that formerly the route from Khotan to China was covered with towns and villages, and became (as today) a sandy desert; (4) the discovery of ruins of cities in the eastern desert near the Lop nor (cf. Dutreuil de Rhins, *L'Asie Centrale*, 1890, p. 148); (5) cities existing at the time of the pilgrim Sung-yun (518 A.D.) which had been invaded by the sand when Huen Thsang travelled in 629 A.D.; (Cf. S. Beal, *Si yu ki*, vol. I, introd. p. 85-86, vol. II, p. 324-325); (6) the traditions of the country about the numerous cities once flourishing and now buried in the sands, and the Archeological finds therein, (cf. Johnston, *Proc. R.G.S.* XVI, 244-249 and *J.R.G.S.* 1867, vol. 37; Bellew, *Kashmir and Kashgar*, p. 370-371; H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, ed. II, vol. I, p. 199-201; Elisée Reclus, *Asie Orientale*, 1882, p. 119). Taken as a whole this unsought for evidence, archeological and historical, proves most clearly that the covering by drifting sand of the region from the N.W. of China to Khotan and Kashgar has been going on and on from centuries before the Christian era to modern times. And it is clear from my researches on the ancient trade routes (*Origin of the early Chinese civilisation*, ch. VI, b and c. sect.) that, a thousand years before the Christian era, intercommunications, purely commercial, occasional and second-hand as they were with the west, were not yet seriously impaired by the difficulties of travelling. It was about the eighth century B.C., that from geographical and perhaps also political difficulties, that the trade with the west was impeded by the N.W. route. The old theory that uninhabitable and inhospitable deserts, almost impassable, were in antiquity an insuperable obstacle to an early introduction of western civilisation into China is therefore exploded and cannot be seriously revived against the likelihood of my disclosures.

Add. to §15.—The two perpendicular strokes on the right side and of the early Chinese symbol are much longer above and below the horizontal line than they appear here in printing.

Add. to §16.—The resemblance must be sought for in this instance not so much in the actual strokes which compose the characters on the two sides, as in the ideal pattern which was present to the mind of the Chinese scribes when writing the symbol: viz. that of a star and under it an open enclosure containing three strokes as in the Elamo-Babylonian antecedent. As the latter cannot be derived from the simpler, the later and derivate character of the Chinese symbol is clear.

Add. to §17.—The top horizontal line of the Chinese *si* west has here disappeared in printing.

The two old symbols here compared are placed upside-down by a printers error, so that the Archaic Babylonian turned over appears on the side of the early Chinese, and *vice versa*.

Add. to §30.—The order of the Cardinal points symbols is the same in China as it was in Babylonia, but their attribution has been varied be-

tween the North and South as shown by the scheme we have given. In Babylonia it is: South, North, East and West, and in China: North, South, East and West. This is another proof of the genuineness of the law we disclose here.

Add. to Note 35.—The theory of the Rev. Ernst Faber has been the object of a good refutation by Prof. Gustave Schlegel of Leide in the *Toung Pao*, 1891, vol. II, pp. 105-110; unhappily the critic, rather uselessly with reference to Faber's hypothesis, puts forward again the old desert theory which is now exploded and cannot be revived. Vid. *suprā* § 11 and *add.* In the same number of the *Toung Pao* has appeared an abstract of a lecture of mine before the Philological Society, 6th March 1891, on *The Non Chinese writings of China and Central Asia*, in which are stated in a few lines the pith of my disclosures about the origin of the Chinese writing as in § 14 *suprā*. The Editor Prof. G. Schlegel has thought fit to add in a foot-note to this passage: "We leave these statements concerning the origin of Chinese writing, to which we entirely demur, entirely to the responsibility of Dr. T. de L." This responsibility I assume most willingly, and at the same time I must say that the reason of Dr. Schlegel's objection is his own theory in which he is the believer. Some twenty years ago at Batavia, the learned author supposed that the unexplained peculiarity of the Chinese Zodiac, (where the winter constellations are figured in summer, those of spring in autumn and *vice-versa*) was a survival of a remote time when, by the precession of the equinoxes, such may have been the case astronomically, viz. eighteen thousand years ago. The result of his efforts was a monumental work: *Uranographie Chinoise*, ou preuves directes que l'astronomie primitive est originaire de la Chine, et qu' elle a été empruntée par les anciens peuples occidentaux à la sphère Chinoise, (Leide, 1875, gr. 8vo., 929 pp. and atlas) full of astronomical knowledge, and of Chinese folk-lore and history. With a good deal of far-fetching and over stretching evidence, an apparent correspondence is shown therein between a symbolism inferred from the dangerous store of Chinese ideographs and folk-lore of all periods and provinces, and the requirements of the theory for the periods of 17000 and 14700 years b.c., but not for subsequent times. The work is a marvel of ingenuity. But though it was variously appreciated by critics and praised for its display of Chinese erudition, the feeling of scholars about this theory remained that something was wrong somewhere. We cannot enter here into lengthy details but the facts which are fatal to the theory are the following: (1) It requires some hours of astronomical observation contrary to Chinese tradition: (2) there is a complete silence of historical traditions on the matter, and there is in the work an unexplained gap of 12000 years; (3) it would require the unaltered survival of early symbolism during some 11000 years, in so fleeting a thing as folklore, without the art of writing, and against the ocular evidence of its unfitness in the subsequent centuries; (4) The symbolism advocated rests on unclassified and uncriticised authorities; and finally (5) It does not explain the Chinese arrangement spring, winter, autumn and summer. There are several other reasons, such as the disproof of the ancient desert theory, and the greater knowledge of Chaldean astronomy and civilisation, which, since 1875, have contributed to make the theory untenable. Of course I leave my own Researches altogether outside of

the argumentation.

Add. to Note 49.—Unless we think it worth consideration that the name of this god was also written in a rebus fashion *T'īm-īzi*, “the maker of fire.” Cf. A. H. Sayce, *Relig. Anc. Bab.* p. 233. As in so many other cases, the two elements of the name are transposed in writing. Cf. Brunn, 4634.

ERRATA—

§ 4, l. 16, <i>Read</i> :	enhances	greatly	<i>instead of</i> :	enhance	greatly
„ 6, l. 9 „	which have	„	which have	„	which have
„ 8, l. 8, „	Shensi	„	Shansi	„	Shansi
„ 9, l. 2, „	non-Chinese states	„	non-Chinese states	„	non-Chinese states
Note 14, l. 2 „	p. 150-151	„	158	„	158
§ 23, l. 3, „	S.A. (for Sumero-Akkadian) „	„	(A.S.)	„	„
„ 40, l. 7 „	generally	„	sometimes	„	„
„ 46, l. 11, „	Tch'i yeu	„	Tch'yeu	„	Tch'yeu

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS OF THE FOREGOING PAPER.

I. INTRODUCTORY.—§ 1. Misconceptions of the problem of Chinese beginnings.—2. Its solution found in their western origin.—3. Object of the present paper.

II. THE PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION.—§ 4. Chinese civilisation, the oldest in existence.—5. Its beginnings for long unexplained.—6. Alleged importance of their first rulers partly comprehensible.—7. Emigration of the Bak tribes from the borderlands of Elam.—8. Their gradual advance in Caina.—9. Their outside influence and the buffer states around them.—10. They have not been entirely isolated in antiquity.—11. Communications have resulted from trade and migration.—12. Loan of Chaldeo-Elamite culture at the beginning.—13. Synchronism afterwards in progress.

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TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

THE P'U YAO KING:

A FRAGMENT OF THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA.

(Translated by the late Prof. Dr. S. Beal).

(Continued from Vol. IV., p. 44).

SITTING BENEATH THE TREE AND BEHOLDING THE PLOUGHING.

At this time the Prince Royal increasing in years and advancing in learning, his Royal Father with the ministers of his court all proceeded to a neighbouring village to see the men who were tilling and ploughing the land. And whilst thus engaged the birds which followed the ploughs continually seized and devoured the worms and insects which were turned

up out of the ground. Bodhisatwa knowing this, nevertheless, addressed the husbandmen in the following terms. "What is this spectacle and why is it so arranged?" To which reply was given. "This is a sowing and tilling spectacle, arranged for the pleasure of the king of the country." Bodhisatwa, hereupon heaving a sigh, exclaimed: "Oh! for a Teacher to instruct the people and in the ways of sorrow and the bounds of those who hold offices of government."¹ His heart thus oppressed he was unable to find any rest for a moment, reflecting on the shortness and misery of life, its various changes and constant repetitions, at one time born as a Deva, or a man, and then in the end in one of the three evil ways, thus endlessly whirled in the wheel of transmigration, with no one to deliver from it, who by attaining Supreme Wisdom might save the whole world and destroy the bonds that hold men captive. Thus reflecting, the ploughing festival being finished, he continued to walk to and fro in deep meditation. Thus walking alone, he beheld a Jambu tree with its agreeable shade and pleasant verdure, and so, desiring the cool, he sat down beneath this tree and entered with unclouded heart on the exercise of Samadhi. Now at this time there happened to be 500 Rishis, of the heretical schools, flying through space going Northwards from the South, and wishing to pass onward, were unable to cross the place where the Jambu tree was under which Bodhisatwa was meditating. Looking then around them they saw Bodhisatwa afar off, and with one accord they sang the following strain as they gazed upon the wonderful grace and effulgence of his person: "Who is this grand as Mount Sumeru, or the Diamond Mountain, like a superbly bright pearl, in perfect rest, immovable; is it the figure of Yama rāja or a Ghandarva sitting there beneath the tree, his mind like the void of space, sitting there by some strange influence, is it he who has caused us to lose our Divine power?" Looking closer into the matter and beholding the glory that surrounded the person of Bodhisatwa they thought and surmised thus with themselves and said: "Surely this is the Divine Virvaman the God of riches—whoever of the Gods it is his glory exceeds that of Sakra, and the Sun and Moon, or of a Chakravarti King." At this time a Deva replied in the space around them and repeated these lines :

" His beauty excelling that of Sih-tien² rāja
 Do you suppose that this is the Deva Li-un.³
 Or one of the countless Diamond devas (Vâjrapanis?)
 No! this is the Divine Teacher (this honourable one is 'the talented')
 Infinitely surpassing all the Spirits of Heaven.

His glory like that of the full moon,
 The very Highest who dwells among men.
 His (excellences) cannot be limited,
 His virtues cannot be measured,
 Exceeding ten thousand times
 The brightness and the accumulated merit
 Of the Heavenly Gandharvas,
 Able at any time to restrain or exercise his miraculous powers (Divine
 foot),
 At one time using the power of the thousand-eyed God who surveys
 the world,
 At another of the Devarâjas who defend the four quarters,
 At another like the Azarai, and the Honourable, one among the Brahma
 Kayikas,
 Able to seize every favourable occasion,
 This one is he who is capable of all this,
 Able to undertake all these responsibilities,
 Behold him then! the unsurpassed in the world!"

At this time the five Rishis hearing this angelic song proceeding from space, immediately descended to the earth, and beheld Bodisatwa as he sat in meditation, his body fixed and unmoved, his mind perfectly free from all distracting thoughts; beholding him thus their hearts were filled with joy, to see his beauty and majesty, immeasurable, unsurpassed ; his religious merit (grace) without compare, a Lord amongst Gods and men, whose previous experiences were such as never yet had been published—seeing him thus they therefore rejoiced exceedingly and forthwith recited these verses:

“In the world there is nought but the fire of sense trouble (dust trouble)
 Obtain Reason, and you destroy all sorrow;
 This one Great as Sumeru living amongst men,
 Is able to accomplish the Rules of complete emancipation,
 He can rise above and remove all sources of pain,
 Practising the rules of conduct fit for such a Master, but difficult to ac-
 complish as the Ocean (is difficult to cross),
 Obtaining Reason by the transforming power of Divine Wisdom,
 How can he but arrive at perfect deliverance,
 And freedom from all the chains and bonds of flesh.
 By thus following after the Laws of emancipation (enlightenment)
 He fully accomplishes self deliverance,
 And shall not come into the power of (see) the Kingdom of Mâra.”

At this time the King, his Ministers, and all the great Assembly, each, began to go in different directions, desiring to find out the retreat of the Prince Royal. After a long search, at length the Ministers see him sitting beneath the Jambu tree in profound meditation; and so it was that the branches of the tree continued to shelter Bodhisatwa from the heat of the

sun, and bent down over him and covered his head in honour of Bodhisatwa's person, and lest he should suffer inconvenience, and so continued to protect him. The King hearing thereof went to the place where the tree was, and seeing the spiritual appearance and the rare majesty of Bodhisatwa as he thus sat in contemplation, he immediately recited these laudatory verses and said :

“As fire on the summit of a mountain,
As the Moon amongst all the stars,
So is he sitting there absorbed beneath the tree.
Glorious as the Sun, ineffably bright,
Let me then now again bow low
And adore the feet of the great Master,
Just as (I did) when first he was born,
Sitting there in profound contemplation,
His appearance, how divinely glorious!
Diffusing its light throughout the world,
How can I best rejoice beholding it,
And in this way obtain for myself deliverance.”

(*To be continued*).

SEVERAL TUTELARY SPIRITS OF THE SILKWORMS
IN CHINA :

A SUPPLEMENT TO A PAPER ON
THE SILK GODDESS OF CHINA AND HER LEGEND.

In my previous paper on *The Silk Goddess of China and her legend*, I have shown that the present official worship of *Lui-tsu Si-ling* she has no historical basis, and is simply a case of script-myth, that the silk-industry was proper to the pre-Chinese tribes inhabiting the east of the country, and was only learned by the Chinese Bak sings, immigrant in the country, some long time after their arrival.

I propose in the following pages to complete the information¹¹⁵ concerning the other Tutelary Spirits of the Silkworms which were or are still worshipped in the country, and to supplement my previous researches, so far as further statements and documents have come within my reach.

*

51. In a popular work the *Sou Shen ta tsuen*. I have found some references to other Genii of the silkworms. This work in seven books, which was published in the 16th century is a kind of description of a hundred and eighty one Chinese deities, written in a very commonplace style, and illustrated by a series of miserable woodcuts¹¹⁶. Therein I have

found a Ts'an Niu, or Silkworm Lady, said to have lived in Shuh (Szetchuen) at the time of the fabled Emperor Kao-sin. Her name is stated not to have been preserved. The legend says that she was transformed into a silkworm, eating the leaves of the mulberry tree, and vomiting silk and coocoons from which cloth could be made for people's garments¹¹⁷.

Kao sin was the dynastic title of the so-called Emperor *Kuh*, the predecessor of Yao, and the reason why this legend of Szetchuen has been attributed to his time is not apparent, as according to tradition he was ruling in Honan¹¹⁸.

52. The other Genius mentioned in the same work belongs to a much later date. It is no other than Ts'an Ts'ung She, The Silkworm rearer, the chieftain of Shuh, who lived in the fifth century B.C., and assumed the title of King, mentioned, §21 of our paper. He appears in the *Sou shen ta tsuen*, as a deity under the name of Tsing y Shen, literally the Green coated Spirit, the reason for this name being that he is reputed to have worn garments of that colour¹¹⁹. He is referred to the district of *Tsing shen* in the department of *Mei*, West Szetchuen, which seems to be derived from that of the deity or *vice versa*; the name appears applied to the district for the first time under the dynasty of the Posterior Tchou 951-960, and the end of the Posterior Tang dynasties 923-936 A.D., while the deity itself is described in some verses of the Sung dynasty¹²⁰. In the silk districts, another silkworm Tutelary Spirit, *Ts'an shen*, is worshipped, and the following story is told about the deity. Near Wu-sih (Kiang-su) a countryman had forty-nine basket-waiters of silkworms, when seeing a very large silkworm he chopped it in two, whereupon all his silkworms died. He knew then that he had killed the Spirit of silkworms.¹²¹ As may be remarked, none of the supplementary notes weaken any of the conclusions of our paper, while they only confirm and complete our inquiry.

53. In the interesting work of Dr. N. B. Dennys on The Folk-lore of China¹²², we find a piece of curious information which, although secondary to our purpose is not unworthy of being mentioned. "The all pervading *ying* and *yin* principle so naturally influences the whole *arcana* of Chinese belief that it is not surprising to find it applied to the care of such useful contributors to the national industries as silkworms. These are said to belong to the *yang* or male influence and to be under the protection of a special constellation (which we have mentioned in § 31 *suprad*). Anything male, such as men, sunlight, &c., is congenial to them, and anything female deleterious. Hence pregnant women (development of the *yin* principle) are not allowed to approach them; and even the presence of a new-born child in too close proximity is thought to be deleterious.

NOTES—

115) For the sake of references the same serials of numbers are continued here for the paragraphs and notes.

116) *Sou Shen tu tsuen* is the title of the work as written in every folio. It is commonly known however as the *Sou shen ki*, which is the title of a different work in 30 books written by Kan Pao, about 320 A.D., and is mentioned under that title in Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 154, and Cordier's *Biblioteca Sinica*, vol. I, col. 301.

117) *Sou shen tu tsuen*, Kiv. III, p. 17.—According to Du Bose (*infra* n. 121) she is worshipped near the Great Lake.

118) On this fabled ruler cf. the statements of the *She Ki*, *Ti Wang she Ki*, *Tu Ti-li*, *Li Ki*, *Tchun tsin yuen ming pao*, *Ku she Kao*, and other works quoted in the *Tai ping yü lan*, Kiv. 80, fol. 1-2.

119) *Sou shen ta tsuen*, Kiv. 7, fol. 6.

120) *Sou shen tu tsuen*, *ibid.*—The section on *Shen* in the *Tai ping yü lan* encyclopedia of 983 A. D., where it occupies the books 881 and 882, says nothing about any silk Tutelary spirit.—G. Playfair, *The cities and towns of China*, No. 1243.

121) Hampden C. Dubose, *The Dragon, Image, and Demon, or the Three Religions of China*, 1886, p. 330.

122) *The Folklore of China, and its affinities with that of the Aryan and Semitic races*; Hongkong, 1876; p. 70-71.

* * *

54. A short extract, from the *Tze she tsing hwa*¹²³ has been sent to me by my friend Professor Deveria. It is under the heading of *Yuen yü fu jin*, the tutelary spirit mentioned in the § 38 of my paper, and purports to come from the history of the Sung dynasty, 420-478, or *Sung shu*, which was compiled by Tch'en-yoh, the celebrated scholar from whom we have quoted an important statement in a previous paragraph (37). The said history, section of Rites, is made to say, according to this quotation “in the usages of the Hans, the Empress had her own mulberry trees¹²⁴, and in a Magnanerie of the Imperial park in the east suburbs she sacrificed to the genii of the silkworms called *Yuen yü fu jin* (and) *Yü she*.”

55. Reference made to the *Sung shu* and in the indicated section¹²⁵, I find indeed mention of sacrifices made for the silkworms by the Empress, and of regulations concerning them, but no special reference is made to the names of *Yuen yü fu jin* and *Yü she* or any other deity. On the other hand it seems impossible that Tch'en-yoh, in his work the *Ts'i huai ki* would have made the imperfect statement¹²⁶ we have quoted from him (§ 37), should he have been in a position to write the other statement said to be found in the *Sung shu*. The quotation is spurious, so far as the latter work is concerned¹²⁷, and its apparent meaning,

56. The *K'ang hi tze tien*, under the character *yü* where is given the reference to the *Er-ya* which mentions the two same tutelary genii gives

at the end of the article on the same symbol a variant which has been a clue to the exact source of the quotation we have just discussed. This variant is read *Wu*¹²⁸, and appears joined to *yüen*, in the name of *YÜEN-WA*, the *shen* of silkworms in the *Tsin shu*, sections of Rites and Music¹²⁹. The *Tsin shu* or history of the *Tsin* dynasty which ruled from 205 to 419 A.C., was compiled by Fang-kiao and others¹³⁰ by Imperial order, during the reign of Tai tsung, 627-650, of the *T'ang* dynasty, from the works of eighteen previous authors¹³¹. The statement is therefore somewhat remote from a direct source, and comes only from a third hand account.

57. It gives¹³² in full the names *Yuen-wa fu jin* (and) *Yü she kung-tchu*, and therefore leaves no doubt that there are two goddesses here mentioned and not only one, as the imperfect quotation alleged to come from the *Sung shu*, and where the qualification *Kung-tchu* does not appear, could have led some of our readers to consider as an open question¹³³. The statement is completed by the four words : *tz'e yung shao lao* which mean that for this Ancestral sacrifices a sheep was offered¹³⁴.

58. We must confess that we entertain some grave suspicions about the genuineness of the statement that the Empresses of the Great Han dynasty should have sacrificed to two goddesses of the silkworms named *Yuen-wa fu jin* and *Yü she kung tchu*. Firstly there is no identification made of the Empress who began the worship, and no such identification is possible on this statement since no name is given therein. And of all the Empresses of the Han dynasty (B.C. 206-221 A.D.) whose biographies I have seen, no allusion occurs about this alleged fact.

Secondly, there is a discrepancy in the rite mentioned which shows also that we must carry our investigations in another direction. These Han Empresses are said to have sacrificed in the eastern, while the rituals required the northern, suburbs. And the new rites substituting the East for the North were introduced, not as we had supposed¹³⁵, in the 4th, but in the 3rd century, i.e. in 286, under the *Tsin* dynasty.

Thirdly, the regulations issued previously from 226 to 285, maintained the northern suburbs in accordance with the Rites of the *Tchou* dynasty¹³⁶, and no allusion is made therein to the worship of special genii for the silkworms¹³⁷. The fact is important.

And fourthly, if the alleged fact was true for the Empresses of the Great Han dynasties, how could we understand the silence of the copious Annals of the Han dynasty, and that of subsequent historians, among others of *Tch'en yoh* who was interested in the matter as proved by the statement we have quoted from his writings ? The silence of *Liu Hiang*,

in his biographies of 71 eminent worthies¹³⁸, which was compiled at the time of this alleged worship i.e. under the Great Han dynasty, is also rather significant of its non-contemporariness. We are thus led to admit that these two goddesses must have been only the object of a local and temporary worship, before the fifth century, but we are not prepared to admit without some further evidence that it happened before the fourth century as we shall see directly.

59. The question remains to know, failing what it pretended to be, when and where such a worship may have taken place. The Great Han dynasty being discarded for the various reasons negative and positive which have been put forth in the last paragraph, some other Hans may be those referred to. There are no less than six dynasties of that same name which at one time or other have ruled over the whole or only parts of China. Two of them, the Former and Later Han, are those most generally known and commonly referred to as the Han period (B.C. 206-220 A.D.) Then came the Minor Han of Shuh (221-263), and later on the Han (of 304-319 A.D.) which afterwards took the name of Tchao, (319-329) the Han of 338-347¹³⁹, and finally the Han posterior which ruled from 936 to 948.

60. The three first and the last are out of the question, and so is the fifth which hardly deserves to be mentioned at all. The probabilities centre around the Hans of 304-319 which at one time ruled over five of the northern provinces of China¹⁴⁰. The detailed history of their Imperial house is imperfectly known, except that the Empresses were numerous; one of the Emperors, Liu-tsung, having as many as three at the same time, i.e. in 315 A.D.¹⁴¹, and leaving four at his death, 318 A.D.¹⁴². They were contemporary with the Tsin dynasty and their relations with them were close, too close even for the good of the latter. The Tsin were in fact two dynasties, the Western Tsin whose capital city was at Loh-yang and who ruled from 265 to 316, and the Eastern Tsin from 317 to 420 having their capital at Nanking. The Western Tsin were put to an end by the Han-Tchao who made prisoner their last ruler. Now a good many statements concerning the Han-Tchao have slipped into the *Tsin shu* as they were contemporary, and this is the probable explanation of the fact concerning the cult of these silk goddesses at the Han court having crept into the History of the Tsin dynasty. It is not unlikely either that this worship should have led the Empress of K'ang-ti of the Eastern Tsin in 343-344 to renew the regulations on the matter (§ 33).

61. These Hans were not Chinese, but Tartars, Sinicised but partly, and this may explain the alteration introduced in the rites, as mentioned

previously. Moreover it may explain also the non-Chinese appearance of one at least of the names of the two goddesses. Their literal meaning is not that which could be expected, should they have been Chinese denominations. *Yuen-wa fu j'n* has the rather vulgar meaning of the wife of the low ground of the park. The name of *Yü she kung tchu* has been already referred to, § 39, and needs no further remarks.

62. Both may be attempts at rendering foreign names, but this I am loth to decide. In the present state of researches however, there is no serious objection to the identification I have proposed with the Chinese queen of Vijayajaya, the king of Khotan, and some resemblances in the name and meaning may be found in support of this view¹⁴³. In that case the two names might be those of one single person, the first being the rendering of her quality of wife of Vijayajaya, while the second might be her name as an Imperial princess in the Chinese fashion which we have explained previously (§ 39 *sub fine*).

63. Whatever may be the outcome of further researches on the matter, the conclusions we have arrived at in another paper with reference to the modernness of the worship of *Si-ling Lui tsu* remain unaltered, with the additional statement that this deity is also worshipped by the silk merchants and by silk and satin weavers.¹⁴⁴

NOTES—

123) A voluminous collection in 160 books) of quotations from the historical and philosophical literature, classified according to subjects, under 30 sections embracing 260 articles. It was published by Imperial order in 1727, according to A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese literature*, p. 151, it is convenient as a manual in the composition of literary exercises, but the value of the work is not placed at a high limit. We have here a proof of this statement.

124) *Han y Hwang hou tsin sang*.—The expression *Han y* occurs repeatedly in the text of the *Tsin shu*.

125) *Sung shu, Li tchi*, 1-3.

126) It must be remarked however that the statement of *Tch'en yoh* is guarded in one respect. He says that *Tch'en she* is our goddess, as if he knew of some other goddess not purely Chinese. Now we know that such other goddess existed.

127) As I have been able to trace the source of this quotation in the following paragraph, and to place another construction on its meaning than would appear at a glance, we may take the case as an instance of the little confidence deserved by the learning of the Chinese of the present day.

128) Bas. 7291 is composed of the 116th key, *a car* with *Kua* melon under it; the latter character is repeated twice in the sign *Yü* of *Yüen-yü*.

129) *Tsin shu, Li yoh tchi*.—*K'ang-hi tze tien*, 116+5, fol. 87.—In the *Tsin shu, Li tchi*, I, fol. 9, is the quoted statement.

130) Fang Kiao died in 648 A.D.

131) A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese literature*, p. 15.

132) *Tsin shu*, kiv. 19, fol. 9.

133) Although the *Er-ya y* states positively that they were two *shen-s*.

134) *Ta-lao*, an ox, *shao lao*, a sheep.—Cf. *Li ki*, i Wang tehi—*K'ang hi tze tien*, 93+3, fol. 3.—*Lao* means literally a paddock, a stable for sacrificial animals.

135) *The Silk Goddess of China*, §33.

136) Such as recorded in the Ritual of the Tchou (*Tchou-li*) and the Records of Rites (*Li-ki*), inasmuch as the latter was compiled under the Han dynasty.

137) *Tsin shu*, Li tchi, I, fol. 9, and 9r.

138) *Lieh sien tch'uen*.—An extract of this work about silkworms in the *Tai ping yü lan* Cyclopædia, Kiv. 825, fol. 3 verso, refers to some marvels, but not to any spirit of silkworms.—This valuable cyclopædia, published in 983 A.C., contains extracts of no less than 48 previous works on the subject, Kiv. 825, ff. 1-6 verso.

139) They had first adopted the name of *Tcheny*, 303-338, and their capital city was at Tcheng-tu in Sze-tchuen. During their existence, i.e. until 347, they had seven rulers. De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. I, pp. 119-120, has published the list of their names.

140) Pehtchili, Shansi, Shensi, Honan, and Shantung. Cf. De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. II, p. 162.

141) *Li tui Ti Wang nien piao*, Tung Tsin, fol. 4.

142) De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. II, p. 187.

143) For instance, Vijayajaya=Wuyen-oa; the latter being an ancient form of Yuen-wa as displayed by archaisms of dialect.

144) The Rev. H. C. Du Bois, an American missionary who has long been resident at Sutchou (Kiangsu), in making that statement speaks of See Lingsze! as a god. Cf. *The Dragon, Image, and Demon*, p. 335.

* * *

RESUMÉ.

64. From olden times after the Chinese had learned the rearing of silkworms and winding of cocoons from the native tribes in the east of the country they had invaded (§50), it became downwards to the Han period the yearly custom to sacrifice for the harvest of mulberry leaves and silkworms to the spirits of the ancient emperors or to the tutelary genii of the land (§§24, 32). And under the Tchou dynasty (§§24, 31) this became henceforth and above all the special duty of the Queen or Empress. Towards the end of this dynasty it seems that sacrifices were offered to the Spirits of the ancient silkworms (*sien t'sun*) themselves (§31) as ancestors of the new ones. In the IIIrd century of our era there was not yet any definite genius of the silkworm recognized (§58). In the following age, began the practice of offering yearly sacrifices to a Tutelary Spirit of the silkworms, but the person of this genius was not the same everywhere. The fundamental idea was that such genius was the protecting spirit of a person who in life had taken great care of Sericulture. Most probably

among the Han=Tchao, 304-319, of North China (§§54-60), they worshipped a single or double goddess *Yuen-wa* or *Yü she*, who may have been the Chinese Queen of the King of Khotan, of whom an interesting story of devotedness to silkworms is reported (§§39-62). The Tsin Empress, in the same age, a little later, i.e. in 343-4 A.D., offered sacrifices to a *Ts'an shen*, whose name is not specially mentioned (§ 32), and which was probably the Big silkworm of Wei-sih (§52). The capital city of the Han was in Shansi, while that of the Eastern Tsin was at Nanking. In the fifth century, 479-501, the Ts'i, whose capital was also Nanking, worshipped the spirit of *Tchen-she*, the famous wife of the great Emperor Wu-ti of the Han dynasty, 140 B.C., as their goddess of silkworms (§ 37).

65. The regional character of such worships of Genii is thus far shown in former times, and it has continued so to the present day. A silkworm-Lady *Ts'an niu*, has numerous worshippers, as well has a former ruler of the Shuh region *Tsing y shen* also called the silkworms rearer. Opinion was long wavering as to the personage of Antiquity whose spirit would be formally recognized as the tutelary genius of silk and silkworms. Besides the names we have mentioned, it was thought at one time before the tenth century that Shen-nung should be recognized as the god (§44). But in the following age, the claims of Si-ling she first Empress of Huangti, the chieftain leader of the Chinese Bak sings, immigrating in the country, were put forth by Szema Kwang, who fancies or gave vent to undue inferences of a mythological character out of the written symbol employed for the name of that worthy person (§41). The result was in course of time the formal acknowledgment of the worship of *Lui tsu Si-ling she* among the governmental institutions. Her worship, although officially carried out in some parts of the country has not yet succeeded in taking an important place among the popular religion of the Chinese.

66. We have thus been able in the foregoing pages to notice eight different successive deities or Tutelary spirits of the silk and silkworms: *Sien ts'an*, *Yuen-wa* or *Yuen-yü fu jin* and *Yü she Kung tchu*, *Ts'an shen*, *Tchen she*, *Ts'an niu*, *Tsing-y shen*, and *Lui-tsu Si-ling she*. The latter goddess, the latest recognized, has not yet ousted the two preceding deities which have still a large number of worshippers.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements

HOW IN 219 B.C. BUDDHISM ENTERED CHINA.

1. Statements have been made long ago concerning a first arrival of Buddhistic missionaries in China during the third century B.C.¹ The years *circā* 250, 230, 221, and 217 B.C. are quoted at random, and the matter is generally stated to be worth little credence, for want of precise information as to its source, and also because this first introduction of the religion was not followed by any lasting effect. The persecution of literature, and the troubles which accompanied the death of the founder of the Chinese Empire, as well as the overthrow of his short lived dynasty, were apparently fatal to the establishment of the new doctrine, while the Imperial patronage, and the permanent success which characterised the second introduction in 67 A.D., have overshadowed the first unsuccessful attempt of the missionaries of Buddha. A short statement hitherto unobserved, and which I have lately remarked in the Historical Records of Szema Tsien, gives me the occasion of the present paper.

2. In his chapter on the *Fung* and *Shang* sacrifices, the author of the *Shé Ki*, or the original document from which he derived his information, states^{1*} that the Emperor went to the East on the shores of the *Puh hai* (5080-4993) or Gulf of Pehtchihli, and there accomplished the rites; he offered sacrifices to the famous mountains, to the great rivers, and to the eight gods.² Then he sent for the holy men (信人), who were *Sien men* (羨門) and his companions.³

Now *Sien men* is curiously enough, so much like a transcription, Chinese fashion, of *Sramana*, *Samana*,⁴ the general designation of Buddhist monks and priests, that this similarity, coupled with other reasons which make it

plausible, may certainly be looked upon as indicating the presence of Buddhist missionaries in China at that time. *Sang-men* (桑門) and *Sha-men* (沙門) in later centuries were the current Chinese transcriptions of the same denomination,⁵ and the fundamental resemblance and identity of the three can scarcely be doubted.

3. Nothing is known of what this *Sien-men* and his companions exactly were: the term occurs only once more, and this in the same chapter of Szema Tsien where it is coupled with a proper name, *Sien-men Tze Kao* (子高)⁶ i.e. the Shaman Tze Kao. Our interpretation of *Sien-men* is thus far confirmed. This man is mentioned, with three others who had preceded him long before,⁷ and were living in *Yen*, i.e. N. Tchihli, because they were all of them adepts in the doctrines of Tsou-tze, otherwise Tsou Yen. The latter, a philosopher, who lived under the reigns of the Kings Wei and Sinen of Ts'i, 378—332—313 B.C.⁸, and was a younger contemporary of Méng-Ko, *vulgo* Mencius, 372-289 B.C., is said to have composed treatises on Cosmogony⁹ and on the influences of the five ruling elements (五行). There are indications which point to a probability that he had access to a knowledge of the teachings of Hindu Cosmogonists.¹⁰ In the writings of Lieh-Yü K'on, who was flourishing under the reign of Hien Wang of Tchou (368-321 B.C.), there are also obvious traces of Hindu ideas which he mixed up with his raving legends about Si Wang Mu and Mu Wang.¹¹

4. Szema Tsien, or the original documents he has made use of in the compilation of the chapter we have quoted, refers apparently to the Nirvana as being the principal mover of all these men's conduct. His statement looks as a garbled notion of the mental condition of the Buddhist ascetics thus transformed into a physical fact.¹² We have perhaps here the indication of a successful Buddhistic predication of the Shaman Tze-Kao among disciples prepared somewhat to receive them by the teachings of Tsou Yen of older times. The date of the event was 219 B.C.

5. Should we trust the sole evidence of chronology, the Buddhist missionary Tze Kao and his companions whose existence we have just been able to disclose from the limbos of literature, must have belonged to the same Mission as that of Li-fang (利防) the Indian priest, who with seventeen companions is said to have come from India to Loh-yang in 217 B.C. The story, which has been referred to in recent years by several scholars,¹³ had hitherto no other support than that of one sole Buddhistic work, from which it had been quoted. This has been looked upon as an unsafe source, the more so that the narrative is accompanied with some

marvellous circumstances, and that this work, called *P'o sié lun*¹³ by Fa-lin, is reputed to have been written between the years 624-640 A.D.

6. The story therein says that "in the xxxth year of She Hwang-ti, i.e. in 217 B.C.,¹⁴ the Western Shaman Li-fang, with seventeen others arrived at Lohyang, bringing with them original sútras in Brahma's (Fan)¹⁵ characters. Being foreigners they were examined by the officials, and by the Emperor's orders were thrown into prison as "strange customers." But Li-fang and his comrades continued chanting the Mahâ Prajnâ Pâramita Sutra, when suddenly a brilliantly bright and shining light, accompanied by an auspicious halo, permeated into and filled the prison. And at the same time appeared a divine being, bright as gold, holding in his hand a sceptre, with which, with exceeding majesty, he struck the prison walls, which shivered to atoms at his blow. Li-fang and his companions then came forth, and the Emperor, alarmed at the miracle, repented of his sin, and treated his quondam prisoners with every sign of marked respect."¹⁶

7. But there is another work in which the story is repeated.¹⁷ It is the *Fah wan tchu lin*, or "Pearl grove of the garden of the law," a large encyclopedia in 100 chapters containing extracts from the Tripitaka, and which Tao-shi styled Hüen-yün, a Buddhist priest, completed in A.D. 668.¹⁸ Coming a little time afterwards the work of Fa-lin, this can however be looked upon as an independent testimony in support of an historical basis of the story of the Buddhist missionaries at Loh-yang, because the details are different to some extent. It says that Li-fang with seventeen companions came to China with Buddhist books for the purpose of converting the King. The Emperor, however, shut them up in prison. In the evening, six men (of superhuman appearance) came and with their diamond maces opened the prison doors, and brought the captives out. On this the Emperor was filled with fear, and paid them reverence.¹⁹

8. The last version of the story, as we find it in the lamented Samuel Beal's works, and in William Fred. Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, which refers especially to the *Fah wan tchu lin*, differs from the other version in the important respect of the date. S. Beal does not quote any, but Mayers mentions casually 220 B.C., which is the first year after the establishment of the Empire, a rather ominous coincidence. We may take it as showing that no precise date is given in the original, and that the event is simply referred therein to the reign of She Hwang-ti leaving therefore the first version of the *P'o sié lun* alone in its completeness of information, and fixation of the date at 217 B.C.

9. Therefore these facts may be retained from a comparison of the two

versions: 1⁰) Buddhist missionaries under the leadership of Li-fang, arrived at the Capital Loh-yang in 217 B.C.; 2⁰) they were temporarily persecuted; and 3⁰ they were afterwards released by the Emperor's orders.

The two events at Loh-yang and on the shores of the Puh-hai explain and complete one another. She Hwang-ti who had heard of and seen the Shaman Tze Kao and his companions, in 219 B.C., and who had learned thus something of their doctrines, could not fail to recognize the same teachings in those of Li-fang and his followers, and to order them free, when he was made acquainted with their presence in his capital, two years afterwards.

10. The probabilities are in favour of Tze Kao and Li-Fang belonging to one and the same mission, and if the second name is mentioned at Loh-yang, it may be that Tze-Kao had died in the meantime, and that the leadership had then been assigned to Li-fang. But this is a mere suggestion as the two names might not refer to one individual only; and do not seem to be the phonetic rendering and the sense rendering of an Indian appellative in the Chinese fashion²⁰. None however lends easily to a clear interpretation, and the question remains for us a matter of probability.

11. Nothing is known further of these early Buddhists missionaries in China. Their teachings were merged into the Taoist ideas which were then in activity, and in every case seem to have disappeared a few years afterwards during the persecution of the literati. It has been agreeable to Chinese Buddhists of after times, such as Fa-lin to speculate upon the probability that Buddhist books brought in by Li-Fang were involved into the Fire of the Books. But the evidence of the fact has not been forthcoming, and it is doubted by competent scholars whether anything of Buddhist teachings had been as yet committed to writing.

12. The statement of Fa-lin that Li-fang and his companions came from India leaves open the question to know which route they passed through. It could not be the north-west route, nor the west route, both and successively the regular trade route of nephrite-jade from Turkestan since olden times, as these routes were closed, according to probabilities since the IXth century B.C. and the first of them was not to be re-opened before the second part of the second century B.C.²¹

13. It could be the south-west or the South route through the region of Shuh, modern Sze-tchuen, which the merchants thereof followed for their trade purposes. The South-west route passing through Darchiendo and the Brahmaputra to Pataliputra (Patna), reached thus the capital of Aṣoka, the seat of the famous council after which so many Buddhist

missions were dispatched in various countries²². As this council is said to have taken place in 245 B.C., therefore 26 or 28 years before the arrival of the above missionaries in the North of China proper, West and East, it was more time than required for their travelling through, notwithstanding all the difficulties which stood in their way.

14. Some more reasons may be adduced in favour of the south west route as that through which the first Buddhist missionaries arrived in China. An Indian influence had penetrated in the land of Shuh, several centuries previously. A dynasty had been established there by a chieftain reputed to have come from India. And the numerous caves and anachorets refuges cut in the cliffs over and along the Min river, which have been described by the two regretted Sinologists Alexander Wylie, and Edward Colborn Baber, and the ornamentation of which is clearly Hindu in character, show that this route was undoubtedly followed by Buddhist monks in ancient times, although history has not preserved the records of the matter.

15. The South route being longer may be dismissed as infinitely less probable, although trade was established at that time between Indo-China, properly Burmah and Pegu and North Sze-tchuen, and that Buddhism had been carried to the Golden Chersonèse, *Suvannabhūmi*, by Sana and Uttara at Golanagara, near the mouths of the Irrawaddy, immediately after the council of Patna²³. Therefore no impossibility could be argued against an extension of Buddhism from there to China; but it would have been of a secondary and consequently more difficult extension, almost impossible before a longer time. On the other hand, the direct route from Patna has greater claims and presented less difficulties, coming as it did from the very centre of expansion of the religion.

16. Therefore of the three routes hitherto mentioned, the S.W. one seems to have been the most probable. But if this route was really followed by the missionaries from India, it seems strange that they should have appeared in the North-east instead of the west or centre, and this two years at least before their arrival at Loh-yang in the centre of the country. We must remember that a fierce state of interneceine wars had just given way to a general peace under the sway of She Hwang-ti. The missionaries must have remained outside of the warring states in the non-Chinese lands of the South and make their appearance only when the peace was restored, and after such length of time as necessary for the start and journey of their mission after having received the news of the establishment of the Empire. The two years which elapsed between this

event (221 B.C.) and their presence (219 B.C.) in the Yen country fulfil these conditions.

17. Now, another consideration requires also some attention. The Shaman Tze-Kao and his companions, as remarked previously, are mentioned with reference to surroundings congenial to their teachings. They were there not far²⁴ from Lang-ya, the famous city built near the Southern shores of the Shantung peninsula, which everything shows to have been a colony of merchants established there in connection and as a result of the maritime trade by the southern seas, which trade had stations of the same name on the route²⁵. Lanka of Ceylon was thus the prototype of Lang-ya or Lang-nga of the Chinese coast which was founded before the VIth century B.C.²⁶.

18. Many western notions have reached China through that channel, and it may not have been an utter impossibility for Buddhist missionaries to have reached finally there after travelling from station to station. But reasons may be adduced which show that such a case is improbable. It was Hinduism and not Buddhism which by this route was first spread eastwards, and the Buddhistic outside influence of Ceylon did not begin but after the time of Buddhagosa in the Vth century A.D.

19. The various circumstances, surrounding and actual, which have been enumerated and discussed in the foregoing pages, permit us to conclude that a Buddhist mission arrived in China proper in the first years of the Chinese Empire. This mission was under the leadership of Tze-Kao and Li-fa ng, (should these two appellatives not indicate one and the same Shaman), and arrived by the South western route, from Pali-bothra (Patna), through Darchiendo and North Szetchuen. When they arrived on the confines of the Empire, having learned that the Emperor was not then in his capital but in the *kiun* of Ts'i, modern Shantung²⁷, the most eastern province of his dominion, they must have traced their way in that direction.

20. And thus they arrived in the vicinity of and into contact with the disciples of a philosophical school congenial to their views and whose the founder, Tsou-yen in the IVth century B.C., was acquainted with Hindu ideas and speculations. While there, they were brought to the cognizance of the Emperor who took interest to their views and teachings. Two years later they went to Loh-yang²⁸, one of the greatest and most central cities of the Empire, and after a short persecution were set at liberty to teach their doctrines. But the persecution of the literati a few years afterwards (213 B.C.), the death of the Emperor, the weakness of his

successor and the troubles which accompanied the overthrow soon after, of his *everlasting* dynasty, prevented these missionaries making a good start and a solid establishment in the Floweryland. And so far as we know, they may have gone back to India, disgusted with their adventures and the attacks made upon them by the Taoists.

NOTES—

- 1) Remusat, said W. F. Mayers, has recorded a statement (the derivation of which appears uncertain) to the effect that Buddhist missionaries from India reached China as early as B.C. 217; but Koeppen and other (*supposed*) well informed writers on Buddhism reject this tradition as unfounded; nor has a (*supposed*) careful search of Chinese authorities been rewarded by the discovery of any corroboration of the statement. Cf. his note on *Chinese views respecting the date of Introduction of Buddhism: Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, vol. II, 1868, p. 51.—Now these writers were not well informed and the search of Chinese authorities was not careful, as shown by the present article.
- 1*) Szema Tsien: *She ki*, kiv. xxviii. Fung Shan Shu, fol. 10.
- 2) There is about these *Puh shin* or Eight Gods an obscurity which has never been cleared. Szema Tsien enumerates them as follows: masters of 1) Heaven; 2) Earth; 3) War; 4) Male principle; 5) Female principle; 6) Moon; 7) Sun; 8) Seasons. He says that they existed from remote times, and he reports an opinion that it was Tai Kung of Ts'i (at the beginning of the Tchou dynasty) who first sacrificed to them. (*She ki*, xxxviii, fol. 10). After Ts'in She Huang-ti, the sole Emperor who is mentioned as having sacrificed to them is HAN Wu-Ti in 110 B.C. (Cf. *Siao Hioh Kan tschu*, Kiv. 9: *Yü hai* coll., vol. 78; W. F. Mayers: *The Eight Gods*: N. and Q. of China and Japan, vol. II, 1868, p. 189).—The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang speaks of the eight *Vajrapânis* surrounding Tathâgata (the Buddha) as an escort. (Cf. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 1884, vol. II, p. 22). But there is, in our opinion some uncertainty in this statement.—It seems likely that those eight gods were of foreign origin. There are eight gods in the Hindu Pantheon, on which cf. J. A. Dubois, *Mœurs, Institutions, et Cérémonies des Peuples de l'Inde*: Sir George Birdwood, *Indian Arts*, vol. I, pp. 64-70, but the attributes of the Chinese deities were different in six cases out of eight.
- 3) Cf. *Le Traité sur les sacrifices Fong et Chan de Sema Tsien*, trad. Ed. Chavannes, Peking 1890, p. 23.
- 4) Sanskrit *Gramana*, Pali *Samana*; in Chinese sounds *Shu-man*.
- 5) E. Eitel: *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 130.
- 6) *Le traité sur les Sacrifices*, p. 25.
- 7) Song wu ki, Tcheng pe k'iao, Tch'ong-shang, and Sien-men Tze-Kao who came long after them.
- 8) M. Ed. Chavannes, in his note to the translation of this sentence, has mistaken *Siu'en* for the name of a former duke and his chronological inference is therefrom vitiated.
- 9) Cf. his biography in Szema Tsien, *She Ki*, Kiv. 74.—The great historian says, that "Tsou Yen had written a famous book on "the chief

evolution of the Yn and of the Yang," in his chapter on the sacrifices, fol. 11.

10) W. F. Mayers, *The Chinese Readers Manual*, I, 746. He is reputed to have made a commentary of the Tchou-li.

11) He is said by some Chinese writers to have heard of the Buddha, because his statement: *Si-fang tchi jen yu sheng tche yeh*, "the men of the West possess a Saint" is supposed to refer to Gautama Sakyamuni. Cf. W. F. Mayers, *Chinese views respecting the date of introduction of Buddhism*, N. & Q., l.c. p. 52.—The Buddhistic character of some of the views of Lieh-tze has been pointed out by Yeh To-k'ing a Chinese writer of the XIIIth century in his work *K'ao Ku Tchih Y.*—The statement concerning the Saint is attributed by Lieh-tze to Confucius, who lived 551-479 B.C. Now according to modern calculations, the Buddha lived c. 513-433 B.C., and the year of his Nirvâna was c. 477 B.C. It would have been therefore impossible for Confucius to have heard about him, but Lieh-tze may have received some information on the great man. Prof. C. de Harlez, *Les Religions de la Chine* (Muséon, Avril, 1891, p. 150) thinks however that the Saint referred to was Lao-tze. He may be right, without necessarily impugning the authenticity of Lieh-tze's teachings. Chinese critics while recognizing the foreign character of some notions in Lieh-tze's writings, were unable to understand how they could have reached China in his time, and have attributed them to later additions. Confucianist jealousy has helped to that opinion; but this extreme view of hypercriticism is not necessary, and all that we know from other sources permit us to say that the writings of Lieh-tze do not clash with his time and surroundings.—On some traces of Hindu influence in his writings Cf. note 120 of my paper on *The Deluge tradition and its remains in Ancient China*: B. & O.R., vol. IV, p. 109.

11*) In M. Ed. Chavannes' translation: "C'étaient tous des hommes du pays de Yen, habiles à suivre la voie qui mène à la bonté. Ils se dépouillaient de leur corps qui s'évanouissait et se transformait. Ils s'appuyaient sur le culte qu'ils savaient rendre aux génies et aux dieux."

12) R. K. Douglas: *China*, 1882, p. 318; ed. II, 1887, p. 344.—Samuel Beal: *Abstract of four Lectures on the Buddhist Literature of China*, 1882, pp. 47-48.

13) i.e. "A treatise on the confutation of heresy."—Bunyiu Nanjo: *A Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford 1883, col. 331, No. 1500.

14) The thirtieth year of She Hwang-ti, was, according to the *Li tai Ti Wang nien piao* of Ts'i Tchao-nan, a year *Kia-shin* of the sexagenary cycle, therefore not 216 but 217 B.C.

15) i.e. 檳 from all and forest which were then pronounced respectively *bam* and *lam*, making *Bam-lam* or *Bam-ram* for *Bram* according to a device frequently resorted to by Buddhist scribes in China for the rendering of foreign words of their religion.

16) Fa-lin, *P'o sié lun*, in Kang-hi's great Encyclopedia in 10020 books published in 1726, *Kin ting ku kin t'u shu tsih tch'eng*, sect. 18, kiv. *Shi kia*.—R.K. Douglas: *China*, 1882, p. 318.

17) It is reproduced in abstract from this work in the *Kwang poh wuh tchi*, Kiv. 16, a cyclopedia in 50 books, completed in 1607 by Tung

Sze-tchang, and giving ample quotations from ancient literature, down to the Suy dynasty, (Cf. A. Wylie: *Notes on Chinese literature*, p. 150), and the beginning of the T'ang dynasty.

18) Cf. Banyiu Nanjo: *Catalogue*, col. 328, No. 1482 and col. 461 No. 22.

19) S. Beal: *Four lectures*, p. 2; *Buddhism in China*, p. 48.—W.F. Mayers: *Chinese R.M.*, I. 340.

20) For instance, Li-fang may be = Rêvata or any similar name.

21) Cf. T. de L.: *Origin of the early Chinese civilisation from Western Sources*, chapt. VI, e, §§ 52, 56.

22) Recorded in the 5th chapter of the *Dipavansa* and the 12th chapter of the *Mahârânsa*.

23) Em. Forchhammer: *Notes on the early history and Geography of British Burma*, I.—*The first Buddhist Mission to Suvannabhumi*; Rangoon, 1884, p. 5.—T. de L.: *Origin*, § 66.

24) They were in fact on the North side of the peninsula, but the whole region there had been for long a centre of culture and mental activity.

25) The names not contemporary are the following: *Lankapura* (Ceylon), *Lanka-Balus* (Nicobar), *Kamalanka* (delta of the Irrawâdi), *Lang-nga-siu* (N. Java), *Lingga* island (S. of Malacca peninsula), *Ling-Ka-poh-pa-to* island (opposite N. Cochinchina) and *Lang-ya* (Shantung).

26) Cf. T. de L.: *Origin*, ch. VI, c, § 44.

27) One of the thirty-six divisions of the Empire as instituted in 221 B.C.

28) The capital of the Empire was then Hien-yang, in the modern prefecture of Si-ngan, S. Shensi. In 220 the Emperor had travelled in the West and the North; in 219 and 218 his journeys were in the eastern provinces. The reason which led Li-fang and his companions to go to Loh-yang instead of Hien-yang, was perhaps that the Emperor was at the time staying there, as it was the former capital of the Tchou dynasty.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

NOTES ON THE WRITINGS OF THE LYCIAN MONUMENTS.

(Continued from Vol. III. p. 259.)

VII. THE LETTER Κ.

WE were all deceived as to the name of the son of Sidarios, (the possessor of the 19th tomb at Limyra), for we affirmed with assurance that this much-loved son was named in the Greek part of that epitaph, ΝΥΒΙΑΛΛΗ, and in the Lycian part ΟΙΟΙΕΓΑΤΙ.

Hence the traditional reading of **Ϙ** by *uβ*, *uv*, *vv*, *yy*, *vv*.⁶⁵ Observe again that this letter figures with the variant **Ϙ** and the incontestable reading *va* in the Cypriote syllabary.

Thus upon the faith of a single example, and that a *doubtful* one, we built some admirable theories.

However, small revealing rays of the gutturalization of **Ϙ** began to appear. I had remarked the identity of words to which I believed it possible to adapt the following transcriptions:

zri'ali and *zri'vali*,

χāri'v'a and **KAPIKA**, (on the Greek epigram of the Obelisk),

umrv'v'azñ and *humrv̥χχ̥*,

always led away by the idea that **Ϙ** being *v*, **Y** became *v'*, with the value of *hr* Zend=χ.

Unfortunately **Ϙ** is not at all what I thought, since the only example upon which this reading (=ΦΩΦΕΓΓΓΓΓ) rests, is questionable.

Mr. Arkwright, who has already done so much for these very difficult studies of Lycian epigraphy, sends me a note in which are traced the different copies of the travellers who have published the Sidarios' epitaph. Among these copies one—that of DANIELL—(second style) has always appeared impossible: it bears, in fact, as the first letters of the name of *Pybialis*, the characters **ΦΟΕ**. What is this **Φ** and this **Ο**?

The Austrian explorers, in their very conscientious *fac-simile*,⁶⁷ confirm in an unexpected manner, Daniell's copy:

ΦΟΕ (Reisen II, no. 124, p. 66).

There had been **ΦΟΒΕ** || **ΑΓΓΙ**, including **Φ**=*u* and **Ε**=*i*, the name **Ι ΗΒΙΑΛΑΥΑ**, which strictly corresponds with **Ηνβιαλλη** of the Greek phrase.

Thus we are henceforth free in regard to **Ϙ**; that letter may be a *v* or any other thing.

And it is in fact anything but a *v*.

M. Six makes the remark in his concluding and important numismatic work, that the Carian *Seskōs* seated at the banquet sculptured on the interesting monument of Cadyanda, is marked out to the spectator by a double mention, Greek **ΣΕΣΚΩΣ**, and Lycian, beneath the lower foot-stool, **ΙΕΙϘ**, from which it is natural to deduce the equivalence **Ϙ=Ϙ**.⁶⁸

On my side, I believe I have discovered the name of a divinity of the

Solymes upon the obelisk and in a Lycian epitaph at Myra.⁴

TP)OK(PJ, TP)OK(ET.

tarkkas, tarkkiz = the Hittite *Tar'hu*, the sign for which is the wild-goat (= *Tpaγos*?)⁷⁰

But here is a name often repeated on the Obelisk, in a text which is no longer Lycian, as I shall show elsewhere, and in the epitaph of Antiphellus 1, equally unconcerned in, as to language, the idiom of our monuments: that name is :

TP)OK(ETP = *trkkūtu* (read *tarkonda*).

Tpokorēas was a name familiar to the Cibyrates and the Licians; it might be at first *Tapkorēas*, which places it in the same rank as *Tarcon-demos* the Cilician. The name is doubtless a *θεωρυμος* word. Is there here a prince of Cibyra allied to the son of Harpagos, and is it his language which is inscribed on the West and North sides of the obelisk, as well as on the Antiphellus tomb? A weighty problem.⁷¹

Another solution, inspired by the vicinity of the name of **TP)OK(ETP** and of different ethnies, would be to recognize in our word the value of a tribal denomination; exactly as there is at Mylasa, or near Mylasa, a powerful tribe of the Tareondares.⁷² In that case the text is in hieratic Carian, and I have for a long time cherished the idea that we should have a discourse (in poetry) of Zeus Labrandeus to his favourite Krēis! But it is necessary to be on our guard against taking up a position on these delicate questions too resolutely. Let us work on without taking a side, and confess our inexperience.

Many thanks to the Austrian travellers for the careful copies they have published: they enable us to correct old errors,—the more regrettable as they were stopping the way. Why have they not given us a new copy of Antiphellus I? We register this vow, to be answered by a future traveller.⁷³

NOTES—

66) See the discussion relative to the complete restoration of this text in Savelberg's *Beiträge z. Entziff. d. Lyk. Sprachd.* 1, pp. 24 and ff. Savelberg has made the error of taking for the centre of comparison Fellows' defective copy: in this he imitates the bad example of Moriz Schmidt.

67) I owe this outline to Mr. Arkwright, in his letter of March 4th, 1891.

68) "Monnaies Grecques, Inédites et Incertaines," extracted from *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. X. third series, 1890, note 140.

69) Obel. *East*, 34. *West*, 14. *North*, 35, 65. *Antiphellus*, 1. 5. *Myra*, 4, 6. "Let him pay to the treasury of the Lycian state and to

Tarkos (the god)..."

70) Another name of a Hittite man appears to be *Tiluma*. East 21 = *Tiλo-μas*, *Reisen*, 1, No. 29, and which recalls the Yessurite *Tholmai* of the Bible. We observe in passing that the Lycian *triquetra* had been discovered in the north of Syria, and from another side than the description of Choirilos on the Solymes "which are rubbed out under the head, with the exception of a tuft of hair," is a peculiarity discovered on the bas-reliefs of Myra, corresponding to the Hittite customs.

71) It is to Mr. Arkwright that the honour belongs of having first proved that it is a *trilingual* text with which we have to do on the obelisk of Krēis.

72) The Tarcondares are quoted along with men belonging to another tribe that of the Otocondes (*Οτωρκονέων*, *Ταρκονέαρεων*) on the Mylasa inscription, cf. Lebas, *Voyage Archéologique*, part V. No. 408, and No. 98 of *Inscriptions Grecques du Lourre*, by W. Frēhner.

78) Naturally *r* is left to **F** = the digamma).

VIII.

Since these lines were written, an important essay on Lycian phonetics by Mr. Arkwright has appeared in the B.&O.R. for March, in which it is proved that Savelsberg's rendering of the vowel $\hat{\alpha}$ by \ddot{a} must be re-adopted. At the same time the English author distinguishes, as I do, Ψ (which he writes δ) from the letters which have the form of upsilon, *except when the latter have at the lower angle a more or less distinct prolongation in the shape of a down-stroke or tail*. The presence of this down-stroke characterizes the class of *weak vowels*, and since that class is distinguished with us by the diaeresis, we shall consider the letters in question as absolutely identical with $\Psi = \ddot{o}$. Nevertheless in the class of strong vowels, I maintain the distinction, at least serviceable, between $\Psi = \ddot{a}$ and $\Psi = \ddot{o}$.—Subpunctuation shall be sufficient to the signs Ψ Ψ Ψ ($= \ddot{o}$) ; Ψ is a mere different drawing of Ψ , just as Ψ and Ψ .

I shall in a short time recur to the value \ddot{a} which I attribute to the sign Ψ .

It only remains for me to express my intention of transcribing the consonant **K** by *g*, and the consonant **Y** by *q*: these two gutturals are shown by comparison with the Greek to be interchangeable letters: thus the Lycian *Sbikaza* is rendered by *Σπιγασα*, and *umrqqazñ* (cf. *humrχχō*) would be represented by *Αμοργ'θης*.

IX.

A list of such proper names as occur in both languages offers a study of interest. It proves that the Lycian alphabet, like those of modern nations, failed to solve the problem of the exact reproduction in writing of spoken sounds. Not only the vowels, but the consonants are curiously

fluctuating in value; *r* stands for *l* and *vice-versa*, without losing the original distinction of [sound]; and in the same way *p*=*φ* as well as *p*, and *b*=*p* as well as *b*.

I offer therefore a catalogue of proper names; in the great majority of cases the identifications are worthy of consideration. The credit of these discoveries is due to my predecessors,—to FELLOWS and SHARPE for *Artaxerxes*, *Xanthus*, the *Lycians*, *Patara* and *Harpagos*; to BLAU (and BIRCH previously) for *Pericles*; to SCHMIDT, for a mass of names, such as *Satrap*, *Artembates*, *Hystaspes*, *Sarpedon*, *Hyrtius*, *Hecatæus*, *Ossybas*, *Kindanubos*, *Arnōtes*, *Iatrocles*, *Abasis*, *hoplites* and *siglos*; to SAVELSBERG for the equally important *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Ionians*, *Darius*, *Otanes*, *Magas*, *Pigres*, *Stele*, *Phrygians*, *Chios*, *Cragas*, *Chersonesus*, *trieres* and *strategos*; to SIX for *Mitrobates*, *Melesandros* and *Ogyges*; to DEECKE for *Pnytos*, *Zenobia*, *Heracles*, *Sphendates*, *Moxos*, *Telmessus*, *Iasos*, *Tissaphernes*, *Pharnabazus* and *Pharnaces*; to ARKWRIGHT for *μίνδος*, *Hieramenes*, *Arsames*, *Thyræus*, *Trosobis*, *Tilomas*, *Embromos*, *Idagros*, *Pegomas*, *Helmidauas*, *Arbinnas* and *Pinaria*; and to the Austrian explorers for *Mornas* and *Sedeplemis*.

The repayment of so many debts leaves me but impoverished. It is with a happy sense of irresponsibility that I have built up my catalogue, the monument of many a hard battle with the Lycian sphinx.

LIST OF NAMES.

AUTHORITIES.

	<i>Lycian Part.</i>	<i>Greek Part,</i>
1. arñna arñnahā arñnasā	Obel. S. 29, 30. N. 20. "Ανρα (=Xanthus). East 49.53.—Coins. } Decree of Pixódarus	Stephanus Byz- ant. s.v. Αρνα. (Pixōdarus: Ηανθο- τοις).
2. arppaxuh arppaxus [arp]paxa(?)	Ob. S. 25. 1*-2* N. 58. N. 19.	=ΑΡΠΑΓΟΥΙΟΣ } Obel. N. 25.
3. arttuñpara arttuñparā	Pinara 2. Limyr. 16.	Herodotus i. 114, and Aeschylus 'The Persi- ans' 29. 254.
4. aruvātiyasi ar[uv]ātiyāsāh	Ob. E. 18. — E. 21. — E. 41.	Suidas, quoted by Schmidt (1881).
5. atānas atānaz[i]	Ob. N. 3. — E. 27.	(denied by Major Conder alone 1890).

6. äkatamla — Cadyanda —denied by Chodzko (1844).
 äkat[ī]la]h } 'Εκατομνας — Decree of Pixodarus —
 kutuml[a] — Cadyanda —

7. äxitäiya 'Εκαταιος Limyra 26. Herodotus.

8. ärbbina Coins.
 ärbbinahä } 'Αρβιννας Ob. S. 20. } I Reisen, 52 (on a tomb at
 ärbbinäzis —W. 23. Sidyma.

9. ärimñnuha 'Αρμενος Myra 2. II Reisen, 13.

10. äriyamäna 'Ιεραμενης Obel. N. 12. = Thueyd. VIII, 58. and Xenoph. Hellenica II, 1, 9. (Probably from a Persian prototype.)

11. ärtaxssirazahä 'Αρταξερξευς Obel. E. 59-60 = Decree of the Mylasians, C.I.G. 2691.

12. äsädäplömi } Σεδεπλευης Myra 1. } II Reisen 57.
 äsädäplömäyä } Limyra 17. }

13. çadunimi Συδυλημις Ob. S. 34, 35. Halicarnassus stela, l. 117.

14. dapara Λαπάρα —Levisu.

15. ddarsstüma Δαρψεσμος ? Pinara 2. Herodotus V. 116 (Δαυρισης).

16. häriklä } 'Ηρυκλῆς Ob. S. 45. } (taken by Savelsberg 1874
 ärikkäbä } W. 17 } 1878, for a different reading of Pericles.

17. blah Λᾶ — Antiphellus 3. ---

18. hlñmidävñ 'Ελμιδαινα II Reisen (Limyra) = C.I.G. 4315b p. 1146,
 126, p. 66.

19. hlñprämäh 'Εμβροπον X. 1. = II Reisen, p. 105.

20. hñtahä 'Ωτον ? Ob. S. 37. 38. 33-39. } (Savels. 1879 "männer."
 42-43. 45. 48. 50. E. 56. } Deecke, 1888 "ipsius.")

21. humrχχñ } 'Αμόργης Ob. S. 56. = Thucyd. VIII, 28.
 umrqqazñ } N. (Savels. 1879, "Smyrnæam.")

22. ida } 'Ιδα Antiphellus.

23. idazzala Εἰδασσαλα — — — Cadyanda — — —

24. idoxñ 'Ιδαγρος Cyaneae 1. II Reisen, 116 (Awschar)

25. ixta 'Ικτα — — — Antiphellus 3. — —

26. iyañusas 'Ιασός Ob. S. 47. Thueyd. VIII, 28.

27. iyñtruxñ 'Ιητροκλῆς Xanthus 3.

28. iyññ } 'Ιωνικόν, 'Ιωνες Obel. S. 47.
 iyñnisñ } — E. 27.

29. kiyazö Χιακόν Obel. E. 22. Thucyd.

30. kizzaprñna } Τισσαφέρνης Ob. N. 11. 14. } Thucyd. Xenophon, Plu-
 kizzaprñna } — — 15. } tarch and others.

31. klaçä Kράγος Antiph. 1 Steph. Byz. 380, 17.

32. krzzānasā } Xερσονησ[ιοις] Ob. S. 43.
 χrssöni } E. 52.

33. kudalah Koīdāλον Xanthus 8. Halicarn. Stel. line 178.

34. kuprini Kυβερνίσκος Ob. W. 16.
 kuprlli } — S. 16 (Kuprl-) } Herodot. VII. 98.
 [ku]prlläh } — S. 26. & Coins.

35. manaχinā Mενέξενος ? Xanth. 5a.

36. maχah Mάγας Cyaneae 1. } perhaps in the Carian
 maχā } Ob. S. 11. } graffiti, Sayce, IV. 2
 (Seti's temple).

37. maχzza Mόξος Antiphellus 4.

38. masasi Maσα II Reisen 150 d. 72 = Limyra 42.

39. mārāhi Mάρης Xanthus 8. (Homer, *Ilias*, 16, 319).

40. milasāñtrā Mελησαντρον Obel. S. 40. (Thueyd.)

41. miñti } X. 1. 3. 4. 7. L. 17. A. 4. P. 2. Telm.? }
 miñtaha } Caria. Limyra. 8. } II Reisen,
 miñtahi } μινθης } 27, p. 22.
 miñta } Cadyand. 1.

42. miθrapata Mιτρόβατης Obel. E. 16. Coins. = Xenoph. *Hell.* I. 3. 12.

43. mizu Mέσος — Cadyanda —

44. mlāñusi Mλαβσει II Reisen (Limyra)
 126 p. 66. = C. I. J. 4315b.

45. mukalā } Mυκάλη Obel. S. 48. }
 mutala } W. 35. } Herodotus).

46. mula Moλ — Cadyanda — (Muda? Moðos? Cf. II.
 Reisen, p. 197. no. 267).

47. mullihäsäh Mολλιστος — Levisu. —

48. murñna Mopνa II Reisen (Limyra)
 126, p. 66. = C. I. G. 4315b.

49. ñtariyāusähä Δαρεῖον Obel. E. 59. Historians.

50. ñtlñmä Tauws (?) Obel. N. 20. = Xenoph. *Anabasis* I. 2.
 & Diodor. 14. 19. 35.

51. åχuxa 'Ωγύης Coins. Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ωγύης.

52. ñzzubüzh 'Οσσυβον Pinara 4. C. I. G. 4269d.

53. padräñmah } Πιθερμος Pinara 2. }
 padräñma } Reisen II, 11 (Xanthus) } (Herodot. I. 152.
 Obel. N. 2. S. 28.

54. przza } Πέρσης X. 5c. } Historians.
 parzza } Limyra 32.

55. pärjklä } Περικλῆς Limyra 16.
 pärjkläh } L. 6. 38. 40. 41. } = Theopomp. Fr.
 pärjkl } Coins. 111, & Polyen. v. 42.

56. pārmōnā[*h*] Παρμενόντος — Limyra 19. —

57. pinalā Πίναρα Obel. East 30. Steph. Byz. & Strabo.

58. piχādara Πιξώδαρος — Decree of Pixodarus. —

59. piχāma Πιγάμας Limyra 18. I Reisen, 29.

60. piχrā Πιγρῆς Antiphellus 1. C. I. G. 4305.

61. pīnūtāh Πινύτον Pinara 3 (I Reisen, 21. p. 55).

62. prīna[*baza*] Φαρνάβαζος Ob. N. 1. Historians.

63. [prīnak]hā Φαρνάκον Ob. N. 2. (cf. *arū-naxa*, II Reisen. 11).

64. pruχssi Φρυξ? Obel. W. 53.

65. pttara } Πάτταρα Obel. S. 38. } Steph. Byz. and
pttarazō } Coins. } Strabo.

66. pubiālīyā Πυβιάλλητ — Limyra 19. —

67. pulānyda } Απολλωνιέδης — Levisu. —
pulānydah } Απολλωνιέδων

68. purihimātāhā Πυριμάτος — Levisu. —

69. χavalās Καῦνος? Obel. E. 17. Herodot. and Thucyd.
(Savelsb. identifies it with *Cabali*).

70. xāriqahā } Ob. S. 5. 25. }
xāriqaznā } — W. 45. }
xāriχā } Kapίκα[s] } KΑΡΙΚΑΓΕΝΟΣ
xāriχihā } Xanthus 8. } Ob. N. 32.
xāriqasa }

71. xārōi } Obel. S. 42. 43. }
xārōhā } [K]ρ[η]ις N. 19. }
tārōi } Ob. W. 22. }
Ob. W. 9 (completed). E. 23. }
Obel. N. 25. Coins.

72. xñtānubāh Κίνδαννοβού Xanthus 4. C, I. G. 4315h.

73. xñtlah Κόνδαλον Xanthus 8. = Aristotle, *OEcon.* II. 14.

74. xssadrāpa } ξάτραπης Xanthus 5c.
xssadrapahi }

75. xssōñtiya Ξανθίας Obel. E. 26. II Reisen, 172.
(Rhodiopolis).

76. xttarama Κτταράμω — Cadyanda —

77. xudrāhila Κυδρῆλος (II Reisen, p. 197, no. 267, *xpparama* and ΚΠΑΡΑΜΩ, Limyra 40. Strabo XIV. 663.

78. xuvatayā Κοατα II Reisen, p. 72 = L. 42.

79. rat[ap]ata Οροντόβατης Xanthus 5c, = Arrian. I. 23. II. 5.
Coin with legend ΠΟΟΝΤΟΠΑΤΟ.

103. urttiya *"Yptios* Myra 8. Homer, *Ilias* XIV. 511.
 104. otâna *'Orávys* Ob. N. 5. (Herodot. III 68).
 105. vidrînah *'Yôâpnuv* Ob. N. 11-12. Herod. VI. 13.
 106. vizttasppazî *'Ystâsôz[iôys]* Ob. N. 49.
 107. zizgga *Σεσκως* — Cadyanda. —
 108. znubâ *Zqnuôbta* Limyr. 13.
 109. zzala *Σâlas* — Cadyanda —
 110. zrppâduni } *Σrppâduni* } Ob. W. 6. } Appian, *Bell. Civil.*
 zrppudâinâ } *Σrppudâinâ* } — E.46. } IV. 70.
 J. IMBERT.

SOUTHERN PALESTINE AND THE TEL-EL-AMARNA
 TABLETS.

To the student of early Hebrew history, and especially the period before the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews, the discoveries in Egypt during the last few years have an inestimable value. The topography of Canaanite Palestine, formerly only known to us from the Book of Joshua, (so aptly styled by the late Dean Stanley "the Doomsday book of Palestine"), is now far more clearly revealed to us by the valuable lists of the conquests of Thotmes III. upon the walls of Karnak; and these valuable geographical catalogues are now supplemented to an unexpected extent by the reports and dispatches of the Agents of Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., resident in the cities of Northern and Southern Syria.

It may not be out of place to devote a short space to indicating the great importance, and gradual development of the Archæological data which now supplement those of the Hebrew writings. The work of the Palestine Exploration Fund in the detailed Survey of Western Palestine was the means of showing how, owing to the conservation of Orientals, a vast number of the names found in the Hebrew writings remained unchanged, or at the most Arabised, and the map of Ancient Palestine could be reconstructed with an astonishing degree of accuracy. The discoveries are now supplemented by still more important documents, which not only give us additional facts, but also reveal to us the still more interesting features of the political and military movements in Palestine at

a period at least two centuries before the Hebrew conquest of Canaan.

The tablets from the Record Office of Amenophis IV. are of extreme importance both from topographical and historical points of view, and therefore will have to be taken into consideration by all future writers upon the early history of Palestine.

The campaigns of the Pharaohs of the XVIII Dynasty formed a series of wars of revenge for the days of degradation under the Hyksos rulers. Prior to this period the influence of Babylonia had been dominant over Syria and the kingdom of Mitanni or Aram Nahraim, and we can see now, from the universal use of the cuneiform writing by the scribes of Palestine Phoenicia, Alasiya, and Mitanni, how Babylonian learning had permeated the surrounding nations. The wars of revenge culminated in the great battle fought under the walls of Megiddo, in which the people of the Upper Ruten were defeated, and Egyptian supremacy in Syria established. The Hittites who no doubt formed no unimportant element in the Hyksos confederation still remained in their Northern mountain homes and only advanced South as we know from the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, as far as the land of Nukhase (NUKHASE) and the city of Tunib or Dunip (the modern Tennib) between Khazaz (Azaz) and Arpad (Tel Erfad) North-West of Aleppo. Their power, however, seems to have been dreaded, and many references to their movements occur in the reports. They had not as yet formed the great confederation of Syrian and Asia Minor tribes which swept Southward in the fourteenth century, and threatened Egypt with a second Hyksos invasion, but which was fortunately averted by the victory of Rameses II at Kadesh.

The Tel-Amarna tablets are therefore most important as filling in the history between these two important battles, and revealing to us the civilisation and political life of Western Asia at this period.

The whole of this wonderful find of inscribed records are of interest to the historian and the philologist: but in the present paper I propose to deal only with those tablets which relate to the affairs of Southern Palestine.

The Egyptian court seems to have had correspondents, perhaps we might say consuls, in most of the principal states and cities of Southern Palestine who reported faithfully the events taking place. The allied tribes of South Palestine seem to have been known by the name of *amil Khabiri* (AMIL KHABIRI), "the confederates" and their centre of meeting, or capital, was the city of Hebron or Khabirun (the city of the allies) which no doubt, as Professor Sayce has already suggested, derived

its second name of Kirjath-Arba, "the town of the four," from its being the meeting place of the four allied clans. These clans doubtless consisted of the Philistines, the Amorites, the Canaanites, and perhaps a certain Hittite contingent still remaining at Hebron.¹

This seems certainly to have been a confederation of considerable power. In a tablet from the Museum at Boulak published by Professor Sayce we find Gaturri or Gedor (Josh. xv. 58) North of Hebron Gimti or Gath, Kelte or Keilah (Josh. xv. 44) and Rubute which may be the Rabbah of Josh. xv. 60; and the still more important city of *U-ru-salim* (☞||☞III☞) or Jerusalem, are described as "belonging to the allies." So also in other tablets we find Khazate (Gaza), Lakisa (Lachish), Askaluna (Askelon), mentioned, so that we have almost all the chief cities of Southern Palestine recorded in these documents.

The importance of these tablets in showing to us the political state of Palestine prior to the conquest by the Hebrews is indeed great, but they have also a still more important feature in revealing to us the position occupied by Jerusalem even at this early period. It is clear from the letter of Akhi ṭabu, of which I publish a translation, and those already published by Prof. Sayee,³ that as Hebron was a political centre, so the rock-built Jebus or Jernusalem was a religious centre of pre-Hebrew Palestine. It would appear that *Ki-el-ti* the Keilah קַיְלָה of the Old Testament (Josh. xv. 33) was the abode of a marauding body of men who made frequent incursions into the high lands of Judea. This city, which occupied an important position on the road between Beit Jibrin, the ancient Eleutheropolis, and Hebron was fortified and a powerful city forming the key to the Philistine plain from the North. The expedition here recorded in which the men of Keilah of Gezor Gath with the people of Keilah who seemed to have been on friendly terms with the Philistines, (comp. I, Saml. xxiii. 5) together with the men of Rebute or Raabbah of Judah, advanced against Jerusalem, and the object was evidently to capture the sacred city, which is described as  *Alu šadu bit Uraš⁴ u šum šu*, "the city of the mountain of the temple of Uras is its name." Prof. Sayee quotes another tablet in the Museum at Boulak, where the name of this temple, or perhaps that of the city itself, is stated to be MAR-RUM, and which he compares, no doubt correctly, with the Syriac MARE ܡܪܼܼܼ and the Marnas of the cities of Philistia. An indication of this sacred character and importance of Jerusalem, under its other name of Salem, is found in the record of the meeting between Abraham and Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18), who is specially called "priest of

the Most High God" (El Elyon); and it is most interesting to find this reference in so distinctly ancient a chapter as Genesis xiv. It was no doubt this association of Jerusalem as a Holy City that lead David to combine the sacred and secular centres of South Palestine by removing his capital from Hebron to Jerusalem. From these tablets we learn that here was a strong city with a temple and with royal priestly rulers, and we can see clearly the causes which in after time made Jerusalem so great a centre of Hebrew life.

NOTES—

- 1) The Tel Amarna tablets add another to the already numerous indications of the importance of Hebron in the history of Southern Palestine. Its association with Zoan (Numb. xiii, 22) was a precious tradition of Hebrew antiquity, and even until the capture of Jerusalem in the reign of David it remains the centre of the confederation of Israelite tribes and at that time there remained some of the Hittite colony (1 Sam. xxvi, 6). As Hebron was the confederation of *four* clans, so I would venture to suggest that Beer-Sheba was the meeting place of a larger confederation of *several* Palestinian and Arab tribes.
- 2) It is important to notice that here we have the sibilant and not shibilant the **ד** and not **שׁ** exactly as in the Egyptian lists where M. Maspero has pointed out the same variation in the Egyptian lists where Sauka (No. 67) is the Shauka of the conquests of Sheshong, the **שׁ** **ס** = **ד** having been replaced by **שׁ** **ל** = **sh** = **שׁ** in Hebrew times. Similar changes exist in Ashqalon + Ashdod (Maspero, "Names of Lists of Thothmes III." *Journ. Victoria Inst.* Vol. xii. 76) so we find after occupation **ירושלם** **ירוסלָם** replaced.
- 3) *Proc. S.B. A.*, vol. xi, and *Records of the Past*, vol. iii.
- 4) We may notice that Uras or Ninip was another form of Nergal, being the god of war and of the chase, and had for his totem "the lion," which may account for the association of the lion with Jerusalem, and the *Ariel*, or "lion men" of the Old Testament II Sam. xxiii, 20, I Chron. xi. 22), especially in the prophecy of Isaiah (Is. xxix, 1-2). Uras was especially the Sun god of Nipar, and bore the title of "Lord of Light," the revealer (*Baru*), the hero (*Masu*), and was the "strong hero." In the latter form he represents "the rising sun at daybreak, who cometh forth like a giant."
- 5) The name *Maru* or *Marum* at once recalls Moriah (Gen. xxii, 2), and it is curious to notice the expression "the land of Moriah" in the Hebrew. It is to be feared that M. Renan will require to modify his statement that "the pretended Mount Moriah should be eliminated from the topography of Jerusalem." (*Hist. of Israel*, I. p. 358.)

Berlin Va. Th. 1646.
(Winckler, No. 106).

TRANSCRIPTION.

[*A-na*] *šar-ri* *bel ya*
[*ik*] *bi-ma* *um-ma*
 ar-ad-kama *ana sepi*
šar-ri *bel ya* VII *ta-an-an* VII *ta-a-an* *am-kut*
[*na-kur-ti*] *e-pu-su-ni*

D.P. *Mil-ki-lu u* D.P. *Su-ar-da-tum*
A na mat šar-ri bel-ya
Mu-khi-ru zabi (*Alu*) *Ga-az-ri-(ki)*
Zabi (*Alu*) *Gi-im-ti-(ki)*
u zabi (*Alu*) *Ki-il-ti-(ki)*
za-ab-ti-m mat (*Alu*) *Ru-bu-ti-(ki)*
Kha-ṭa-ra-at mat šar-ri
A-na (*nisi*) *kha-bi-ri*
U in-ni-an-na-bu-na-mu
Alu sad U-ru-su-lim (*ki*)
Alu bit Uras u su-mu-sa
Alu sar-ri kha-ṭa-ar-at
A-sar nisi (*A/u*) *ki-il-ti* (*ki*)
is-mi šar-ri a-na D.P. *Arad-ṭuba Arad-ka*
u lu-ba-khir ra-bi ma-da-ti
u lu-ti-ra mat šar-ri a-na šar-ri

TRANSLATION.

To the King, my lord,
 Speaks thus thy servant,
 At the feet of the King my lord
 Seven times seven I prostrate myself.
 Hostility was made Milkilu and Šnardartum
 Towards the country of the King my lord
 Urged on the soldiers of the city of Gezor,
 The soldiers of the city of Gath,
 And the soldiers of the city of Keilah,
 Taking the city of the land of Rabbah,
 A Dependence of the land of the king.
 To the Allies
 They allied? themselves?
 The city of the mountain of Jerusalem,
 The city of the temple of Uras is its name.
 A city on the king dependent (they came).
 May the king hear to Arad-ṭaba thy servaut,
 And may assemble many soldiers
 That he may restore the land of the king to the king.

123.—LETTER FROM LACISH.

A-na šar-ri beli-ya
 Ili ya II Šamsi-ya
 II Šamsu ša istu
 D.P. Ša-mi-i
 Um ma D.P. Zi-im-ri-di
 nis ahi La-ki-sa
 Arad ip-ri-sa
 -sa sepa-ku
 Ana sepi šar beli-ya
 II Šamsu ša is tu D.P. Ša-mi-i
 VII eṣṣu VII ta-a-an
 is-ta-kha-khi-ni
 nis-i si-ip-ri
 ša šar beli-ya

ša is-tap-ra-an-ni
 is-ta-mi a-ma-te
 ma-rab ma rab
 u a-nu-ma
 u-se-si-ru-mi
 de-ma ša mas-bi su

To the King my lord,

Thus speaks,

Thy servant Arudi.¹

At the feet of the king [my lord] seven times
 Seven do I prostrate myself.

.....when the raid was made, by

Milki, of the tribe of the seamen,²

Upon the country of the king my lord,

Upon the soldiers of the city Gedor (*Gaturri*)

The soldiers of the city of Gath (*Gimti*)

And the soldiers of the city of Keilah (*Kieti*)

They took the country of Rabbah (*Rubuti*)

A dependent (*kaṭarat*)³ of the country of the king;
 belonging to the allies (Khabiri).

Also throughout

The city of the mountain (*sadu*)⁴ of Jerusalem (*U-ru sa-lém*),

The city of the temple of Uras⁵ whose

Name is Mar-uum⁶,

A city dependent on (*kaṭarat*) of the king,

In the land of the men of Keilah,

I overthrew the enemies of the king.

NOTES—

- 1) *Arudi* seems to be the Hebrew *Jarel* גָּרֵל (Gen. 5, 15). Sayee, Rec. P. II. 64, suggests reading *Aruki*, but there is much confusion between *ki* and *di* on these tablets.
- 2) *Maritim*. This word, from root *Marah*, means the “salt marshes” and probably applies to some district in Southern Philistia. It is evidently the same word as the *Nar Ma-ra-ti* “salt river,” “tidal river,” of the Bull inscription of *Benacherib* (line 78.)
- 3) *Kaṭarat*, a very common word in these tablets, seems to be from the root קָטַר “to hang, attached to.”
- 4) *Sadu*, here written סָדָע. I prefer this reading to that of country.
- 5) *Uras* or *Ninip*: in another tablet it would seem as if the name was *Rimmon*, but I am not certain of the reading.
- 6) I have here followed the reading of Sayee in the Boulak tablet (Rec. P. ii. 64), but am not very well satisfied with it.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

NOTES AND NEWS.

*RECORDS OF THE PAST.—The publication of the first series of the *Records of the Past*, some twelve months ago, may well be said to mark

* Vols. I-IV, 8vo. Bagster & Sons. London : 1890-1.

the first recognition of the popular interest in Oriental inscriptions, which had hitherto been known only to a few specialists. In the same manner the new series, now issued under the Editorship of Professor A. H. Sayce, may be said to form an interesting record of the progress which Assyriology and Egyptology have made during the above mentioned period. It may be said with certainty that the progress exhibited is astonishing; and that as regards Assyrian texts, there remains as little uncertainty of the rendering as of an ordinary chapter of the Hebrew Scriptures. And this is clearly clearly shown, if the reader will compare the translations here given of such texts as the Cylinder of Tiglath Pileser I., the Black Obelisk of Shalmanazar III., with those published by Dr. E. Schrader in the Keilenschrift Bibliothek. It is difficult to select the most interesting features in this new series, but perhaps the most astonishing revelations are those afforded by the inscriptions from Tel-Lo, translated by the late M. Amiaud. These wonderful records certainly restore us one of the earliest long lost and most important chapters of Oriental history. The clear proof afforded of a contact between Egypt and Chaldea about B.C. 3000-2500 by these records supplies us with the explanation of much that was obscure in the early history of both Empires. The intercourse with the Sinaitic peninsula during this period and the working of the quarries there for hard stones, diorite and porphyry, has recently been denied in a most direct manner by Sir William Dawson, K.C.B. &c., the eminent geologist; but the evidence of the inscriptions as to Magan being the copper land, the land of the turquoise, as well as its being approached by sea, certainly preclude it from being in the regions of Western Persia, where neither of these materials is to be found. Diorite and other gneissic rocks as well as porphyry are found in Sinai, as well as in Eastern Egypt, as proved by Professors Hull, Lartet, and Zittel, and could have been obtained by the Babylonians by the use of coasting vessels. I refer to this special point at length as much comment has been passed on the subject. Professor Sayce publishes selections of the Tel-el Amarna tablets, but made before he identified the name read Ursusui or Jerusalem, as Urusalim, or the still more important fact that Queen Thi was the daughter of Burnaburiyas, King of Babylonia, and hence a solution of the introduction of the disk worship. Complete translations of the Eponym Canons, the Babylonian Chronicle, and other chronological texts will be very welcome to students. Mr. Pinches contributes translations of Assyrian letters and Dr. Oppert of legal deeds. It is also to be noticed that the newer recruits to the study, Dr. Scheil, Rev. J. C. Ball, and Mr. A. Strong are represented. The translation by Mr. Ball of the great India House inscription of Nebuchadnezzar is especially to be noticed, as this has never before been so fully and accurately translated, and its importance for Babylonian topography is very great. In the series of Egyptian texts the most important Papyrus Prisse containing the Precepts of Ptah-hotep, a work full of the wisdom of the Egyptians, and affording a beautiful picture of their life. A word of praise must be given to the excellent printing, hardly a single mistake being observed.

W. ST. C. B.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

NOTES ON THE YENISSEI AND KARAKORUM SCRIPT.

1. I HAVE unquestionably some scruples in deciding that these Inscriptions ought to be read from right to left.

On the Table herewith sent we find : **¶ < &**. These three letters, if we read them from right to left, would constitute therefore a termination frequently used, but I do not find it elsewhere than in the examples which I send you. If, on the contrary, they must be read from left to right: **¶ < &** (apart from five cases doubtful owing to the accidental loss of the two points) these would become the root of words *whose flexion is produced on the right* :

Example: **¶ < & :** **¶ < & (:**
¶ < &) (: **¶ < &) (& < & :**

It is the same also with the group **¶ h**.

It is on the right the flexion appears to be made.

2. Herewith the comparative Table :

¶ < &	(: a word very often repeated on every
¶ < & (:	p. 5. 13 (id.) [page.
¶ < & :	p. 12.
¶ < & (& :	p. 11.
¶ < & < (:	p. 13.
¶ < &) & :	p. 18.
¶ < & (& :	p. 19.
¶ < & (& & :	p. 16.
¶ < &) (& & :	

' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	p. 18.
' < ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	p. 8.
' < ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	p. 10.
' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	p. 14.
' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	p. 3.
' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	p. 7.
' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	p. 10.
' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	p. 14.
' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	p. 16.
' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	id.
' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	
' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	p. 6.
' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	
' < ॥ (॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ :	p. 7.

3. One remark here: On the first lithographed plate representing the Yenissei Inscriptions which refers to a hunt, and especially at page 13 the hunters have curved bows and swords, the curved bow unbent is thus] ; when bent it becomes { as figures 11 and 12 represent them ; now Hinuen-thsang when he is among the Turks beyond Essikoul and Taras remarks that the bows of the horse-guards of the Khan are *straight bows* । ॥.

Figure 5 represents in my view a holocaust made not by means of a boiler, but by a *gridiron*.

This *gridiron* in its form and proportions is exactly like that which every Chinese sovereign causes yet to be installed in the temple of Heaven, for the sacrifice of the black oxen whom they burn after having cut them in pieces.

In figure 4 they are evidently jars or boilers, which we see represented.

4. In the suggested system of interpreting the Yenissei inscriptions, published in the *B.&O.R.*, vol. iv. pp. 231-8, there are likely several misapprehensions.

1^o, Because it has been overlooked that many of the Yenissei inscriptions were circular, which causes us to find *a larger number of letters than really existed*. In fact, if we place up in a circle an inscription in a straight line in which the character ॥ is found, we arrive at the following result :



This mistake would allow us to make Khubilai out of Kmlau !!

2^o, Because it has been overlooked that certain plates which are found in the text are reproduced by the wood-engraver, who has neglected to put into the negative the drawings which have been made in the positive, the signs which it is proposed to show us.

3^o, Because the photographs which are found at the end of the collection are taken sometimes in the positive, sometimes in the negative, from a rubbing which again has been reproduced without account been taken of the position which the inscription occupied on the stone.

5. What has led me to the foregoing *hypotheses* is the minute examination of inscriptions very homogeneous and copied by the same hand, which M. Yadrintzoff has brought from Kara-Korum, and which, until the contrary is proved, are cognate to those collected in the valley of Yenissei.

Those inscriptions of M. Yadrintzoff include about 663 words separated by the sign :

These 663 words contain about 3608 letters, giving me 91 signs, from which, I think, may be deduced :

1^o. 30 signs figuring only once, and resulting in alterations such as  in place of   instead of  &c.

2^o. 14 signs figure each less than five times, and resulting probably from analogous alterations, such as    instead of   instead of  &c.

There thus remain 47 signs among which there seems to be found a number of under-writings, which cannot be deducted, which give an alphabet comprehending from 38 to 42 signs for the Inscriptions brought from Kara-Korum or from Orkhoun by M. Yadrintzoff.

The sign  is found repeated 202 times ; never even once is it presented in the positions  and  adopted by Mr. Brown, but I find 49 times the sign  which appears to be equivalent to .

But I have not even once found the signs  (, which in the copy of the inscriptions from Yenissei would therefore result from nothing but a reversing of the engraving of the signs  ), as I have shown above, and not from a graphic system.

6. Herewith the List of the Signs on the Inscriptions from Karakorum, copied by M. Yadrinoff.

About 663 words separated by two points : and comprising nearly 3608 signs.—I have made a key to them below, by indicating the number of times which each sign is used, while the numbers in brackets refer to the signs from which they may be alterations:

1.  663	16.  117	31.  36	46.  5 (28)
2.  442	17.  113	32.  32	47.  5 (5, 44)
3.  258	18.  108	33.  31 (20)	48.  4 (20, 33)
4.  231	19.  104	34.  30	49.  4 (39, 50, 61)
5.  217	20.  90	35.  27 (27)	50.  3 (39, 49, 61)
6.  202	21.  80	36.  21	51.  3 (15)
7.  184	22.  85	37.  21 (13)	52.  3 (36, 41, 55)
8.  170	23.  78	38.  16 (20)	53.  3 (34)
9.  158	24.  61	39.  16	54.  2 (24)
10.  145	25.  52	40.  13	55.  2 (36, 41, 52)
11.  142	26.  49	41.  10 (36, 52, 55)	56.  2 (40)
12.  142	27.  44	42.  9	57.  2 (29, 45)
13.  133	28.  43	43.  9 (19)	58.  2
14.  211	29.  42	44.  9 (5-10)	59.  2 (7)
15.  120	30.  42	45.  7 (29, 57)	60.  2 ?
			61.  2 (39, 49, 50)

Signs appearing only once in the Yadrinoff text:—

Signs reproduced by engraving or photography from squeezes of the Yenissei inscriptions, and which are not to be found in the texts brought from Karakorum by M. Yadrinoff:—

7. As to the date and the origin of these Inscriptions, it seems difficult to admit that these monuments could have been the work of one of the nations which, *after* the foundation in 744 of the Khanate of the Ouïgours, having successively occupied the shores of the rivers Orkhoun, Yenissei, and Ob, have adopted, probably in default of a better, the Syro-Nestorian alphabet and its derivatives, which any have since renounced but only for adopting *directly* the system of writing brought by Islamism.¹

They are certainly not Mongol; for, if the Mongols who ruled only in the xiith century in the region of Kara-Korum had possessed a system of writing so complete as that which the Yadrintzoff inscriptions disclose, they would have no need in the year 1204 to make Ta-ta-t'ong-ha teach them the Syro-Nestorian alphabet in use among the Ouïgours; in 1240, to employ Chinese characters phonetically to transcribe the sounds of the Mongol language when they wrote the *Yuen-tchao-pi-chi*; in 1269 to make an appeal to Baspha to give them an alphabet more complete than the Ouigour alphabet, insufficient to transcribe, as it was, at the same time the sounds of the Mongol language and those of the Chinese language. In fact, what was lacking to them in the Ouigour alphabet would appear as if it should be found in the alphabet of the Kara-Korum inscriptions.

8. I was for some time inclined to think that the Souli alphabet (Chou-le) of 32 letters, indicated by Hiuen-thsang in the viith century, might reckon somewhat in those Tchoudic inscriptions under review.² But upon second thoughts I believe it would be rash at present to affirm anything in that direction. This Souli alphabet, used according to Hiuen-thsang, in the region between the river Tehou and the town of Kesh to the south of Samarcand, must evidently have been known, and perhaps also employed by the Turk-Tu-kiue among whom in the seventh century Hiuen-thsang found himself when he was in the valley of Tallas, that is to say, upon the present territory of the Russian Government of Semirjetshie. Now upon this territory up till this time nothing has as yet been discovered except the Nestorian cemeteries of Toknak³ and Pishpek, of which one dates at least from the ninth century. The Russians who pointed them out will very likely later on indicate some other monuments in which perhaps will be recognised the alphabet of which Hiuen thsang speaks. We see how much must be waited for before anything is concluded.

In a word, I wish that there had been found some monuments of this very Tchoudic writing in the countries situated to the west of the Yenissei, and in the Trans-Oxiana, and to *see* reproductions of them.

I wish, in short, we could speak of those Tchoudic inscriptions a little less theoretically for, to sum up, they appear to promise that we shall be to make clear the light as to these bi-lingual texts of which I have spoken shall make known their language, their origin, and their date.

9. These inscriptions either are or may be in the Turkish language.

Yadrintzoff has had before his eyes some bilingual inscriptions (in Chinese and in that unknown writing) and he has unfortunately compared them only with an incomplete copy, on which he has had no means

of working.

In the 91 signs I have extracted from Karakorum copies we may suppose that there will be found some figures which ought to be separated from the alphabet. It might perhaps one day be brought up to 32 letters, and there might be made this reply to what Hiuen-thsang wrote for us in the VIIth century :

Convinced that the best method in many matters is *to proceed by elimination*, I have only occupied myself first with what this alphabet which provisionally we call *Tchoudic cannot be*. It is not at once, and only upon more complete and more correct documents than we have that one shall seek, with any chance of success, from whence this alphabet comes and what it *may be*. That is why it has sometimes appeared to me useful to establish first that this alphabet consists of a graphical system much more complete than the Syro-Ouïgour alphabet seems to have been able to construct, among any of the nation's which successively, since the VIIIth century *at least* have been under the necessity of adopting, for want of a better, the least incomplete of the Nestorian alphabets or those derived from it, and have occupied the territory of Karakorum and the valley of the Yenessei. It is not therefore improbable that this alphabet had belonged, neither to the Ouïgours nor to the Naïmans, nor to the Kirghiz (Kien-Kuen), nor to the Kalmucks, nor to the Mongols, nor to the Mandchus. Its use and its ceasing to be used would therefore be anterior at least to the VIIIth century (the Khitan and the Djurtschen appear to be to be outside the discussion).

It remains that we should examine whether it might belong to one of those peoples who, anterior to the Khanate of the Turks-Ouigours (744), had occupied Karakorum and the valley of the Yenessei, that is to say, to the Turk - Tu-küe, the Juan-Juan, the U-hwan, the Sien-pi, the Ting-ling, the Hiong-nou, the Ousun (if they are not the same as the Kien-kuen (Kirghis).

10. What is it which presses itself on us? We shall not know how to show it for the present, too prudent in our hypothesis to be able to escape from certain hasty conclusions, which would destroy at early maturity the new documents which are being collected.

There exist indeed some epigraphical Tchoudic monuments, duplicated by a Chinese text, which will doubtless throw light upon the question of the origin of our script. M. Yadrinoff, who has pointed them out to us, has only furnished us with a manuscript copy which is unfortunately rendered illegible by the fact of his being little accustomed to copy Chinese

characters, but Dr. Hekkel, professor in the University of Helsingfors, who is going this summer to Karakorum, will send us, I trust, some photographic reproductions, or some squeezes taken from these Sino-Tchudic monuments.

NOTES—

- 1) Cf. my communication to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Paris, 21 Nov., 1890. Yadrintzoff has furnished the photographs of two fragments of a Chinese inscription which I attribute to the VIIth century; one of these is accompanied by a portion in very clear Ouïgour writing. I read in the Chinese text the name of Pi-kia Khan; the VIIth and VIIth century is full of this *title* of Pi Kia Khan (P'ek Khan?) common to the Turko-Toukne Khans and to the Turko-Ouïgour Khans and Kie-Kia-sze (Kirkhis), as De Guignes' tableaux testify.
- 2) Hiuen-thsang states that in the country of *Soulih* (situated between the river Chou and the Sir-Daria=Sairam, Aulie-ata (Taras, Azur-Turkestan, Tashkend, Chemskend there exists a writing and a language bearing this very name of *Souli*). The radical forms of the graphical signs are not very numerous, but may be reduced to 32 *letters* which, by being combined, have little by little given birth to a great number of words. The inhabitants possess scarcely any historical records. They read their texts from top to bottom. *Forty leagues west* from river Chou may be found the summer residence of the Khan of the Tu-kiüe. (Transl. of Stan. Julien).
- 3) According to Ssenang-szeten, To-kmak (Togmak or Toghmak) was the settlement of the dominion of Djoutchi, elder son of Gengiskhan. According to Bretschneider, the ancient Mongol chronicle designates by the name of Togmak the Desht Kipchak of the Khanate of the Golden Horde.
- 4) See Additional notes 1 and 2.

G. DEVERIA.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. The foregoing notes of Prof. G. Deveria are extracted from letters he wrote to me between the Aug. 2 to Oct. 26 of last year. When passing them for print, we hear from a letter of M. Yadrintzoff news which corroborate the views of the learned Sinologist. Prof. A. O. Hekkel, whose journey is mentioned § 11, has discovered near the Zaïdam lake, i.e. in the vicinity of Kara-Korum, a stela with a Chinese inscription set up by order of the Chinese Emperor Hiuan-tsung to the memory of the Turkish (*tuh-küeh*) Prince Küeh teghin, who died in 731 and was a brother of the Turkish Khan Mekilien. At the foot of the Imperial Chinese text are two lines, he says, in that same writing called in the previous notes provisionally Tchudic and in Finland Suljek, and which henceforth might be called Turkish-pre-Islam script. Prof. Deveria tells me that this bilingual inscription has been printed in the Oriental Review which Mr. Yadrintzoff publishes at Irkustk (Siberia).

and that this Kiueh teghin is the same as the Kiueh-tele spoken of in the *Documents historiques sur les Tou-kouen* (Turcs) transl. from the *Pien-Y-tien*, by Stanislas Julien (Journal Asiatique, Dec. 1864, pp. 459 and 471).

2. On the other hand, the able numismatist M. Ed. Drouin, has informed Prof. Deveria, that Turko-Chinese coins have been discovered in the province of Semirjetschia; they bear on one side an inscription in the so-called Uigur script, and on the other the Chinese legend of *K'ai yuan* of the T'ang dynasty. M. Drouin thinks that they have been struck by Turks vassals of China, and we may expect his decipherment with interest. Should these coins have been issued where they have been found, they would answer to the wish expressed by Prof. G. Devéria, § 8.—It must be remarked that in Chinese numismatics *Kai-Yuen* is not, as might be supposed, the *nien-hao* 713-741; it is the standard denomination of the currency during the T'ang dynasty, which with unimportant exceptions remained in use for over three centuries. Coins were issued with this legend in 621, 780 and 841 by the T'ang, in 909 by the Min, and in 943 by the Nan T'ang. (Cf. Li Tsou-hien, *Ku tsüen huy*, kiv. *Li*, vii, fol. 1, 10, 11; ix, fol. 10 and 13.) Therefore it cannot be used as a chronological sign of any precision.
3. Prof. Aspelin, *Die Jenissei Inschriften* : Ztschr. f. Ethnl. XXI, 744-6, in reporting on the progress made by the archaeological side of the question in 1889, says that proofs of the existence of this writing have been discovered on objects of the bronze period, and also of a late date. The Museum of Minussinsk has acquired a bilingual coin, with two words of this writing and a Chinese legend of 841-6. Nothing is said in the report of the actual means by which this date which is that of the Chinese *hwei-tch'ang* period or *nien hao* of the T'ang dynasty. And no instance is known in the history of Chinese coinage of the use of *hwei-tch'ang* for coin's legends.
4. The most important publication of texts is the following: *Inscriptions de l'Yénissei, recueillies et publiées par la Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie*, Helsingfors, 1889. This work contains, pp. 3-17, an account by Prof. J.R. Aspelin, of the successive discoveries and attempts at decipherment of these inscriptions (with fourteen woodcuts); followed by the text printed of 32 inscriptions under the supervision of Prof. O. Donner, with a list of the characters; and finally, eight photogravures of inscriptions.—Mr. Wl. de Yenferow has published a few years ago, a history of their discovery and of various suggestions and attempts made to decipher them, in his paper : *Etude sur les Inscriptions Sibériennes* s, pp. 109-150: *Mémoires de la Société des Etudes Japonaises, Chinoises, Tartares et Indo-Chinoises*, vol. iii. 15 Juillet, 1884.—This interesting article, which was unknown to Prof. Aspelin, refers to all the inscriptions of Siberia, and not only to those of the Yenissei.—We must also record here the unsuccessful attempt of an American scientist, to read

them as Japanese. Cf. on the subject: *Déchiffrement des Inscriptions Sibériennes, par le Japonais*; ibid. 15 Avril 1885, vol. iv, pp. 138-141. Of course this nightmare has produced a translation as untrustworthy as it is complete.

5. Some attempts have been made in Finland to decipher the same inscriptions, but the proposed identifications of the characters with ancient Semitic alphabets have not met with any success. Cf. Aug. Tötterman, *Entzifferungsversuch einiger Inschriften auf einer Felsenwand bei Suljek (Ostsibirien)*, Helsingfors, 1888; and *Studien über die Suljek-felsen-Inschriften. Eine polemische Schrift, Das Suljek-alphabet*, mit 3 schrifttafeln. Repr. from "Ofversigt af Finska Vet. Soc:s Förhandlingar." Vol. XXXI. Helsingfors, 1889, 23 pp.—O. Donner, *Die felseninschrift bei Suljek*, ibid. 5 pp. and pl.—H. Grennan, *Zur frage der Ostsiberischen Inschriften. Bemerkungen zum Tötterman'schen Entzifferungsversuch*, ibid. vol. XXIX. 4 pp.—We need not remind our readers of the various articles of our collaborateurs on the subject; Mr. Rob. Brown jun. in the Academy last year, and in the *R.&O.R.*, vol. IV, pp. 231-238, vol. V, pp. 73-78, and the Hon. John Abercrombie, vol. V, pp. 25-29. Mr. R. B. jun. has already come to the conclusion that some of the inscriptions such as the II and XXX are written in a Turkish dialect.
6. Professor Arminius Vambery, *Das Türkenwolk*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 4-6, 36, 38-42, &c. has called attention to the Ienissei inscriptions from another point of view, that of the *tumgas* of Turkish clans. The *Tewarichi-Ali Seldschuk* or "History of the Seldschuk family." Ms. No. 419 of the Leiden library has been described by him. It gives a genealogy and list of twenty four tribes, with their respective marks or seals, otherwise called *tumgas*. These marks altogether symbolical, in some cases having a faint resemblance to hieroglyphics, according to the intended meaning of the symbol, and only recognizable when this meaning is known, were used as marks of property, and often inscribed on cattle, as is done elsewhere, such as the *urusur* of the Bedawi clans. The Magyar scholar has remarked that an inscription found at Minussinsk, and published by Castren in 1347, contains many signs which are so much like the above *tumgas*, that this resemblance leads him to believe that the latter inscription as well as those on the granite rocks of the banks of the Smolanka, a tributary of the Irtysh were simply a register of those tribes to whom the right of pasture in those regions had been granted.
7. Of the Karakorum inscriptions, in the Turkish pre-Islam script, the only publication of texts is the following: *Anciens Caractères trouvés sur des pierres de taille et des monuments au bord du Orkhon dans la Mongolie Orientale* par l'expédition de Mr. N. Yadrintzoff en 1889.

St. Petersbourg 1889, 21 pp. autogr.—It contains : p. 2, a sketch of the stela ; pp. 3-19 : I. caractères trouvés près de (Kocho-Zaidom, 2 milles de) Khori-Bolgosoune, Caracoroume : p. 20 : II. Caractères sur des pierres de taille sépulérales, trouvés (près de Hara-Bolgoson) près de Kocho-Tsaïdom du Orkhon ; p. 21 : la grandeur naturelle des lettres.—The additions in brackets, which are not printed, are here put from the information given to me by Mr. N. Yadrintzoff, who presented me with a copy of the above publication, in Paris in Aug.-Sept. 1889.—It is not impossible that the great stone tablet be that which is spoken of at length in the *Tarikh Djihan Kushui*, or "History of the conqueror of the world" written by Alai-eddin Atta mulk Djuveni († 1283). According to D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, t. I, p. 430, the Persian author reports some stories from Uigur books, "There is among the mountains of Karakorum an ancient pit of *Pijen* (a Persian hero who was taken prisoner by Efrassiab and kept for some time in a well, v. the *Shahnameh*). The vestiges of a city and a palace are to be seen on the banks of the Orkun. The ancient name of this city was *Ordu balik* (i.e. the city of the Ordu, or residence of the Khan), but it is now known as *Mao balik* (i.e ruined city). Before the palace are found some stones covered with inscriptions, which we have seen. In the reign of the Khan (Ogotai) in 1234 these stones were removed, when a pit was discovered in which was a great stone tablet with an inscription. The Khan ordered it to be examined by people of different nations, but no one could read it. Finally the Khan sent to China for men who are called *Komes*, and the inscription proved to be in their language and character." Then follows an alleged translation of the inscription which relates the miraculous birth, between two trees, of five boys, the youngest of whom *Buku-tekin*, became *Buku khan* of the Uigurs, built *Ordu-balik* and also *Belasagun* then *Gu-Palik*, and in twelve years subdued the whole world.—*Kam* was the name of the shamans amongst the Uigurs and also the Kirghizes (*T'ang shu*, kiv. 259).—We learn from the *Liao she* (Life of Tai Tsu) that the Emperor Apaoki, in 923, having camped near the (or an) ancient city of the Uigurs, commanded that a marble tablet should be erected there in praise of his victories. On the 29th of the 9th moon (i.e. 28 days afterwards) being still at the same place, he ordered that an ancient epigraphic stela of a *P'i-k'o-han* (or Beg Khan) should be erased and engraved (anew) with a glorification of his own feats in *Ki-tan*, Turkish and Chinese characters. This precise statement which I owe to Prof. Deveria, was misunderstood by previous Sinologists who wanted Apaoki to have restored a monument of *Pi-k'o-han*. Cf. for an instance of this misunderstanding the inexact account in E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1888, vol. I, pp. 256, n. See

also on the previous inscription, the same work, pp. 254-256, n. 640.

8. The Bibliography of the Siberian inscriptions is given in the precticed article of Mr. Wl. de Yenferow, and in the introductory chapter of Prof. Aspelin to the splendid publication of the Helsingfors' Society.

9. The inscriptions of Siberia may be classified under five heads :

a) Mongol and Uigur ; such as among those of Abakansk, Schalaboiinsk, Teissa, Butcharma, Utinge, &c. The latest discovered, on the site of Karakorum by M. Yadrintzoff, is in Uigur and of the VIII century. It has been published in facsimile and translated by Prof. Radloff in the Zapiski of the Imperial archaological society of the present year.

b) Pseudo - Runic, or *Suljek*, or *Tshudic*, or better Turkish pré-Islam script, of the Ienissei and Karakorum inscriptions.

c) Tree-like characters, resembling the *El Mushajjar* and *El Shajar* of the Arabs, and probably later than the ninth century.

d) Archaic Chinese. (Cf. T. de L., *Beginnings of writing around Tiber*, § 32).

e) Pictorial, hieroglyphic and symbolic, very numerous and of all dates and sorts, but generally rough and without any trace of systematization, altogether the work of uncouth and uncultured people.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPRIE.

ERRAT. Addit. note 1, l. 9. *Instead of*: At the foot...read : On the obverse.

ON THE ENTRANCE OF THE JEWS INTO CHINA
DURING THE FIRST CENTURY OF OUR ERA,

THE view held by the Jewish colony in the Middle Kingdom is that they arrived during the HAN period, i.e. between 202 B.C. and 220 A.D. This statement somewhat vague is reported in their own inscriptions set up at Kai-fung-fu¹. It seems, however, that they have preserved by oral tradition² the idea that they came under the reign of Ming-ti, i.e. between 58 and 76 A.D.³. I confess that I do not know any contravening or confirming statement on the subject in Ancient Chinese literature. Professor Henri Cordier finds an apparent confirmation in the suitableness of the years mentioned, as Jerusalem was besieged, taken, and totally

destroyed by Titus in 70 A.D. Now there was not any reason, for such of the Jews who emigrated at that time, to go so far eastwards as China; the fact is not impossible, but we must admit that as far as we know there was no inducement to travel to so distant a country. Events had happened some years before in Parthia which seem to give a simpler explanation, as they concern a migration of the Jews per force to the East. The matter deserves some attention. In 34 A.D., the numerous Jews established in Babylon were compelled to withdraw from that town to Seleucia by punishment for the misgovernment of their fellow countrymen Asinai and Alinai who had been satraps for the XIXth Arsace Artabanus III. The persecution continued against them notwithstanding, and fifty thousand were massacred in their new residence; the others in 40 A.D. went to Ctesiphon, and as this place did not prove hospitable, they retired finally in the provincial towns of Parthia.⁴ These circumstances are important. Here we have Jews in Ante ior Asia, on the great routes of commerce to the East, and compelled to seek after more favorable countries to settle therein. The probabilities are thus strongly indicated that some of these Jews, most likely at first as trading parties, went to China and established themselves there afterwards. Traces are said to have been found of a Jewish settlement⁵ between *Tcheng-tu*, the Capital of Szetehuen and *Lü-shan* of the same province, on the west, which has been attributed to the Han period, and more specially to the first century B.C. It may be as well the first century of our era as the evidence lacks of precision. In that case we may have there a valuable corroboration of our suggestion that the first Jews in China came by one or the other of the trade routes. The settlement in W. Szetchnen shows that they came through the Southern and much frequented route of Afghanistan, N. India, Patna and S.E. Tibet to Teheng-tu in Szetehuen. Further corroborations come from the fact that the first settlement of the Jews in S.E. India, (Malabar) dates from 68 A.D., and that in their own inscriptions of Kai-fung-fu dated 1489, it is stated that they came from Tien-tchuh or India.

The statement that they came during the reign of Ming-ti, does not satisfy us at the first glance, because Buddhist missionaries were officially received by this Emperor in the year 67 A.D. Compared to the vague statement of their inscriptions that they came within the Han period which lasted 422 years, the special indication that their arrival took place under the reign of Ming-ti looks ominous. It seems to be an after thought like a self-adaptation by them of the Buddhist affair, unless

they arrived several years afterwards, in a way, on the trail of Buddhism through a different route and in a not ostensive manner, without any show of their creed. This might explain the complete silence of the Chinese Records about them. On the other hand, they may have arrived in Szetsuen some time previously, even before Buddhism and the reign of Ming-ti. In that case they would have remained for a time in the spoken of vicinity of Tcheng-tu without making any show of themselves and their tenets, as otherwise it seems improbable that Ming-ti would have sent in the west after disciples and worshippers of the golden statue of his dreams. After the second entrance⁶ of Buddhism and the glow which accompanied it, the Jews must have slipped into China without being remarked, whence the silence of the official historians on the subject.

Once established in China, the Jews sought for communications with their brethren in the west, and therefore received later on new comers from time to time. The fact unknown to recorded history is ascertained by the circumstance that the Chinese Jews, beside the non-punctuated texts of the scripture which they may have had from the beginning, possessed also punctuated texts, therefore of a later date than 570 A.D.⁷ But none of these later questions concerns the purpose of the present note.

NOTES—

- 1) In the inscriptions of 1489 and of 1511 A.D.
- 2) Soon after 72 A.D. is the time mentioned in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.
- 3) H. Cordier, *Les Juifs en Chine* (L'anthropologie, Sept.-Oct. 1890) p. 549.—As could be expected from the author of the *Biblioteca sinica*, the bibliography of this short article is extensively worked out.
- 4) Cf. G. Rawlinson, *The sixth Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 244.
- 5) By Mr. Knowlton, *Missionary Magazine*, Sept. 1857.—A. R. Mac Mahon, *The Karen of the Golden Chersonese*, 1876, p. 96.
- 6) On the first and unsuccessful entrance cf. my paper: *How in 219 B.C. Buddhism entered China*: B.&O.R. May 1891, vol. 5, pp. 97-105.
- 7) Dr. A. Kingsley Glover, has published in *The Menorah*, a Jewish monthly of New-York, in 1838 and 1889, an interesting series of articles on the subject under the general title of *The Jews of the Extreme Eastern Diaspora*, and the following sections: I. The Jews of India, (vol. IV, p. 239-249)—II, III, IV and V. The Jews of the Chinese Empire (vol. IV, pp. 359-365, 436-441, 520-524, and vol. V, pp. 10-19.—VI. Manuscripts of the Jews of India and China (vol. V, pp. 144-151.—Biblical and Classical testimony to the Commercial Activity of the Ancients in the East, (vol. VI, pp. 91-97.—The Temple and Temple Worship at Kai-fung-fu, China (vol. VI, pp. 179-183.—The author thinks (art. V, p. 15) that he has found a clue, to the fifth century as the date of the Jews' arrival in China, in the following state-

ment of their inscription of 1489 : "The SUNG Emperor said : Since they have come to our central source (i.e. China) and reverently observe the customs of their ancestors, let them at *Pien-liang*. In the first year *lung-hing* of the Sung obedience, *hwei-wei* of the cycle (i.e. 1163).....Yen-tu-la built the temple....." The SUNG Emperor mentioned at first and who authorized the Jews to remain at *Pien-liang* cannot be one of the SUNG dynasty of 420-479, as the Rev. Glover supposes, for the simple reason that this dynasty ruled at *Kien-yeh* (Nan-king) and that *Pien-liang* which was then called *Kai-fung* was no part of their dominion, and belonged to the NORTHERN WEI. *Pien-liang* which was so called since the N. TCHOU, was the Capital of the N. SUNG from 860 to 1127, and it is, without doubt one of the latter emperors who is referred to in the inscription. When the Sung were driven south by the Kin or Djurchen-Tartars and transferred their capital to Lin-angan (Hang-tchou) in 1129, *Pien-liang* became the Southern residence of the Kin emperors. It was under the rule of these Tartars that the Jewish temple of *Pien-liang* was built, and Yen-tu-la is not a Chinese but a Djurchen name. The circumstances also explain the peculiar reference to the year of the Sung dynasty.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

THE P'U YAO KING :

A FRAGMENT OF THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA.

(Translated by the late Prof. Dr. S. Beal.)

(Continued from p. 89).

On this the Prince Royal addressed the King and said, "I indeed have come here to give myself to meditation, why then are we met together?"

The King replied, "And why do you thus act?" To whom he replied, Your Ministers desire by their conduct to remove and destroy all evil and disgrace from your Kingdom. I also by meditation desire to destroy all the darkness and the misery attending the rule of the King of evil in the world (all the Mâras)." The King replied, "Sadhu! This is the first miraculous event in the life of the Prince—the end shall not be vain; but through him shall be found Deliverance for the World!"

KIOUEN V.—Chap. 14.

Consideration of the Doctrines of the three Systems.

Thus Bodhisatwa sojourning amongst the Mountains at last came to

the banks of the Ni-lin (Nairanjana) River, where he enjoyed the repose of an Aranyaka (hermit), his mind at rest, and filled with love, he considered the condition of the world (ten regions of space) deriving above Gods and men.

Buddha again addressed the Bhikshus and said : " Bodhisatwa seeing at a distance Udraramaputra with all his followers engaged in reverent attendance on him as he taught them how to calculate coming events, the art of figures, the different calamitous changes of heaven and earth, in all which he was their distinguished teacher, Bodhisatwa observing this began to reflect : " Now these men have attached themselves to their Master's service for the sake of learning from him the art of calculation, and the method of predicting calamities from the stars, and so pay him the offices I observe, I will myself therefore go to the place and enquire as to his proceedings, that I may know if there be any exceeding value therein, which may surpass (beat down) the doctrine of the non-existence of outward objects (*fah*), and the doctrine of escape by means of profound meditation (*yeh sin*), and the exercise of Samādhi, that so passing these by I may by some other cross-expedient perceive at a glance the beginning and end of things, or by observing the proceedings of these disciples as they exercise themselves in an inferior (wordly) method of meditation I may perhaps from that afterwards proceed on to a higher method, and fixing myself in the Samādhi of perfect indifference thus attain to the goal of Supreme (great) Wisdom." Bodhisatwa having finished these reflections went to the spot and enquired thus : " Excellent Sir ! (Bhadra) what offices (sacrifices) are these ye do ! who is your Master, and what system does he teach with a view to what end ?" Udraramaputra answered him : " I am uninstructed by any Master, by myself have I acquired this knowledge (insight) which you possess for yourself alone ?" He answered : " I alone possess the knowledge of that Samādhi known as 'thought without thought :'" Bodhisatwa answered : " May I then learn by any human means (from man) this sort of profound meditation ?" He replied : " You may, and with welcome, for I will instruct you gladly." On this Bodhisatwa rising up and going to a retired spot, sat down with his legs crossed, on which in consequence of his redundant merit, and his profound Wisdom, and the power of the works done by him in previous existences, he entered at once into each distinct sort of Samādhi, by each correct method, and without let or hindrance perceived (the truth) for himself in the hundred thousand varieties of abstruse contemplation (ecstasy), just as one beholds figures

in an unclouded mirror so he obtained self-perception (independent existence) without the least obscurity or imperfection. Then Bodhisatwa arousing himself from his abstraction, and rising up went to the spot where Udraramaputra was, and again enquired :—" Have you get any sort of Samādhi like the one of 'without thought by which Supreme Reason may be obtained.' " He answered : " No ! there is no other way." Then Bodhisatwa reflected :—Ramaputra knows nothing of "Faith" (śvaddha) as I know it, Ramaputra knows nothing of "energetic advance" (virya), as I know it, nor of "reflection" (smṛiti), nor of "dhyāna," nor of wisdom (prājna), I alone know of these things.—Having thought thus he arose and departed, and came to the place where Kālāma (Arāta dwelt, and on arriving asked him also : " Who is your teacher and from whom have you received the doctrine you profess ? " He replied : " I have no Teacher, it is my own doctrine." He then further enquired : " And what is this method which you possess for yourself alone ? " To which he answered : " I by myself alone use a Samādhi called, *Wu-yung-hü-hwug-san-mui* (no-use-empty-Samādhi)." Then Bodhisatwa having entered, through the right paths, the highest form of ecstasy for himself alone, Kālāma addressed him and said—this is well done indeed—and now as I have reached this point and am instructing others in it, so also do you abide here and instruct all these in the same way, and become one of us. Bodhisatwa replied : " But this practice (or, deed) does not reach to the point of entire deliverance, or the complete removal of desire, it does not penetrate into the meaning of supreme indifference (wou wei), it does not reach to perfect quiet resulting from the absence of all created being (yeou), its followers (Shaman do not attain to Sambodhi, this is not Nirvāna." Then Bodhi atwa dissatisfied alike with his interviews with Ramaputra and Kalama, departed from them and went onward. As he thus advanced he saw three Brahmanacharis, one was called Yau-wei-ka-ye (Uravilra Kasyapa) the second, Na-ti-ka-ye (Nadi Kasyapa) the youngest was called Ki-i-ka-ye (Gāya Kasyapa). They were three brothers each followed by a thousand disciples. Bodhisatwa going forward saluted them and said : " What religious services do you engage in ? " They said: " We sacrifice to fire and water, the Sun and Moon, and to all Divinities up to Brahma Deva (or, up to the Brahma Heaven)." Bodhisatwa replied: " There is no truth in this system. Water will not always flow, fire will not for ever glow, the sun that rises sets again, the moon though full will shortly wane, Brahma Deva (or the Brahma heaven) is not eternal, for though he endure long still he

must come to an end, only that which possesses no-personal-being (won wei) no beginning, no end, the insurpassable and absolute is worthy of being the ground of discussion ; and so leaving them he departed and returned to his own place.

Buddha further addressed the Bhikshus and said " On this Bodhisatwa gave himself up to reflection and thought thus," now indeed I dwell in this world with its five pollutions (of sense) degraded by the false teaching which every where abounds, each teacher advoeating different views according to their 96 works of instruction and their 62 erroneous theses, loving their own selves, coveting life, foolish and hesotted men ! hankering after fleshly lusts, cherishing the very things that destroy and poison (happiness) their minds incapable of repentance, with no desire after purity of thought, but bent on drinking and eating, infatuated with a love of earthly things, always doing that which is not right ; ever thoughtless about that which is excellent, not given to charity but loving wealth and engrossed in family concerns, regardless about the truth of his (higher) Reason, not walking in a plain straight course, (ehi ping), but loving to continue in the practice of the ten sins the opposite of the ten commandments detailed by Buddha not rejecting the idea of self-importance not instructing others to turn from sin, careless and unstable, hard to be influenced (converted) filled with thoughts of murder (killing), injurious and licentious, drinking wine without cheek, given up entirely to pleasure, and moreover doing sacrifice to Water and Fire, the sun and moon, and Brahma, yea, and worshipping the Spirits of the Mountains, and of the land, Spirits of space and of the sea and fountains and Spirits of trees : and moreover dwelling in the Mountains and feeding on fruits and herbs, eating once a day, or in two days or even but once in seven days, taking one handful at a time once a day, or even for 14 days but one handful, or only eating one full meal in a month, practicing pure living (the life of a Brahma), engaged in the four methods of contemplation (the four dhyānas) and training themselves in the four virtues for the sake of being born in heaven, but never striving after deliverance from continued birth and death ; moreover some with naked bodies, some clad in skins, some sacrificing to devils, Rakshas, and Asuras, not (striving to) escape the evil modes of birth, ever unable to arrive at perfect knowledge, saying they are wise, but being fools, and so unable to be converted, believing all the false teaching of the world. Oh then let me rather be able to make manifest the true life of probity, and whilst using the methods employed by others, let me exhibit for their advantage the right and only

correct mode of life, casting away delusive ideas, and satisfied with no method of teaching derived from this world (world of desire and world of form) let me enter the path of complete enlightenment (Buddha).

(*To be continued*).

*THE TABLET INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHINESE JEWS
DISCOVERED AT KAI-FUNG FU (CHINA) IN 1850.*

In the Jewish Monthly "*Menorah*," published in New York City I have presented¹ to both Jewish and Gentile readers the main results of my researches among the Jews of the Far East, especially those of China.

In the same publication I also presented the translations of the tablet inscriptions as they appeared in the "*Shang-hae Pamphlet*" of 1851, the year immediately following the discovery of the tablet inscriptions at Kai-fung-fu by agents of the "*London Missionary Soc.*"

But my notes and comments on these tablets were brief, and my knowledge of their contents only half mature, and I now offer to Jew and Gentile a more detailed account and explanation of these interesting relics of a dying colony of Israelites, in the form of a *Commentary*. The printed records (especially the "*Shang-hae Pamphlet*,") concerning the Jews of China are now very scarce, and I feel that by presenting these short commentaries, with the translation of the original Chinese, I shall be saving from oblivion two very important and unique relics of the Jews of the extreme eastern dispersion.

The original translations were made from the Chinese by the Rev. Dr. Medhurst of the London Mission at Shang-hae, and these translations I present in the following pages, with only occasional suggestions for changes in the orthography. In several instances I might have used my own knowledge of the Book language of China, in rendering the English equivalents of the original, to some orthographical and etymological advantage; but Dr. Medhurst was so great a Chinese scholar that I have accepted his translations, and seek only to make the sense of the inscriptions plain to those interested in the affairs of China and of Judaism.

1) 1888-1891.

In the Jewish publication mentioned above and elsewhere, I have cited evidence to show that the Jews did not enter China before the fifth century A.D. Much of this evidence was *external*, but the testimony of the following tablets is final, since they show the prevalence in China of Jewish customs, moral axioms, &c., which are well known to readers and students of Jewish history, to have appeared as features of Judaism, not only after the Christian era, but after Mishnaic times, and which therefore preclude the possibility of a Jewish migration to China before Christ.

The whole field of religious and moral thought traversed by these inscriptions, plainly shows the influence of Talmudic days. Moreover, while one of the two tablets (that of 1511) is so far from the truth as to place the entrance into China as early as the date of Christ's birth, the other on the other hand, confirms the *external* evidence, by a most certain reference to the 5th century as the time of the settlement of the first Jewish Colony in China.¹

The Inscription of 1511.

The record of the Temple² erected in honour of *Eternal Reason*
and the Sacred Writings.

It has been said that the *Sacred writings*³ are for the purpose of embodying *Eternal Reason*, and that *Eternal Reason* is for the purpose of communicating the sacred writings.

What is *Eternal Reason*⁴? The principle which is in daily use, and constant practice, and which has been generally followed out by men⁵ of

- 1) I entirely demur to this view for the reasons given *suprl.* p. 131, as the early Jews of the first century kept up relations with their brethren in later ages, and this explains the apparent difficulties.—T. de L.
- 2) This tablet deals mainly with *morals* and *purity of religion*.—‘Temple’ should always be understood in these tablets instead of ‘synagogue,’ since the structure in China was a *temple*.
- 3) Here and elsewhere the “*Sacred Writings*” are the canonical books of the Old Testament. They were certainly not any of the *Chinese Classics*, since these Chinese Jews never were so completely absorbed into the Chinese population as to forget their own *sacred books*.
- 4) *Eternal Reason* is an overstretched rendering. The Chinese characters are *Tsun tchung Tao*. The translation of *tao* by reason may be allowed; but *tsun tchung* mean literally *Respect profoundly* (cf. Maclay—Baldwin, *Alph. Dict. Chin.* p. 117), and therefore cannot be rendered by *eternal*, for which  *yung* is the Chinese term.—T. de L.
- 5) *i.e.*, by the Jews.

ancient and modern¹ times. It is present in everything and the same in all seasons.² In fact, there is no place in which *Eternal Reason*³ does not reside. But *Eternal Reason* without the *Sacred writings* cannot be preserved, and the *Sacred writings* without *Eternal Reason* cannot be carried out into action, for men get into confusion, and do not know whither they are going, until they are carried away by foolish schemes and strange devices.⁴

Hence the doctrines of the sages⁵ have been handed⁶ in the six classics⁷, in order to convey the knowledge⁸ to future generations, and to extend its benefits to the most distant period.

With respect to *Yih-sze-lō-nēē-Kaou*⁹ (the religion taught in the happy establishment conferred by the Great One),¹⁰ we find on inquiry

- 1) This tablet was erected in 1511 A.D.
- 2) 'Eternal Reason,' here referred to, is often incapable of being distinguished from God, or Heaven. One of the smaller tablets says: 'Eternal Reason is unbounded by the limits of existence and non-existence', a refrain that can refer only to the Supreme Being.
- 3) "Eternal Reason." These words are followed by their definition, which, though brief and partial, is nevertheless approximately sufficient for that term ("Eternal Reason") which occurs so often in this tablet. It here can refer to nothing else than *the everlasting truth of God*, present everywhere, but not discernible by mortals, save by the revelation and guidance of the "Sacred Writings."
- 4) In this paragraph we see the deep faith of the Chinese Jews in the necessity of inspired writings, in order to preserve and transmit the "everlasting truths of God," and keep men in the straight path of religious truth and righteousness.
- 5) i.e. The *Chinese* sages and philosophers. (The Han dynasty. T.de L.)
- 6) I suppose "handed down" is intended here.
- 7) At certain periods of Chinese history the *classics* were divided into *six classics*.
- 8) i.e. *The knowledge* of the *Chinese doctrines*. In this paragraph we see the writer drawing a comparison between the transmittal of *Chinese* doctrines in the *Chinese* classics, and that of *Jewish* doctrines in the Old Testament. He discovers here, moreover a reverential regard on the part of the Jews for the *Sacred books* or *classics* of China.
- 9) *Yih-sze-lō-nēē-keau* not *Yih-sze-lō-nēē-keau*. T. de L.—This long Chinese word is made up of two: the one being (as will be noticed by pronouncing it) a phonetic rendering of *Israel*, and the last syllable (*Keau*) meaning *religion*; the whole meaning *Israel religion*, (i.e. *Judaism*).
- 10) This parenthetical explanation of the Chinese word can but refer to *Jehovah*, if a correct translation. But I must translate *Yih-sze-lō-nēē* as *Israel*, and *Keau* as *religion*.

that its first ancestor *Atan*¹ came originally from *Thēen-chih*,² and that during the *Chou* state the Sacred writings were in existence.

The Sacred Writings, embodying *Eternal Reason*, consist of fifty-three Sections.³ The principles therein contained are very abstruse,⁴ and the *Eternal Reason* therein revealed is very mysterious, being treated therein with the same veneration as Heaven.⁵ The founder of this religion is *A-woo-lo-han*,⁶ who is considered the first teacher of it. Then came *May-shē*,⁷ who established the *Law* and handed down the Sacred Writings.

1) Adam as given also in this translation of Rev. Dr. Medlnrst, as it appears in the *Shang-hae* pamphlet.

2) This name in China refers to India in a general way, including *Ceylon*. But in the mind of both Jew and Chinaman, India was not confined by its modern boundaries. It practically refers to Hindustan and much of the *country north* and *north-west* of it.

3) This number is that observed among the Persian Jews. It is a proof of the early contact of the Jews of China with Jewish emigrants or travellers from Persia, but it does not prove, by any means, the Persian origin of the *Ch. Jews*.

4) The turning of the plain Old Test. truths into "abstruse principles," either indicates the presence of rabbinical influence among the Jews of China, or it is a result of the era of Chinese philosophy which extended in its greatest glory from the 9th to the 13th cent. A.D.

5) There is here discernible a practical identity of *God* and *Eternal Reason*.

6) Abraham.

7) Moses.

A. K. GLOVER.

(*To be continued*).

NOTES AND NEWS.

ON LYCIAN DECIPHERMENTS.—Our most able collaborateur, M. J. Imbert, intends to start shortly for Lycia, and it is not unlikely that he will be accompanied in his epigraphical and archaeological expedition by another of our collaborateurs, Mr. W. Arkwright, whose articles on Lycian epigraphy (*Academ.* Feb. 7, p. 104, and B. & O. R., 1890, vol. iv. pp. 176-181, and discovery of Vocalic harmony in Lycian (B. & O. R. March, 1891, vol. v. pp. 49-54) have attracted much attention. We extract the following interesting passage from a letter just received (24 June, 1891) from M. J. Imbert.: (T. de L.)

“I shall go into Lycia, either alone, or with Mr. Arkwright, my *frère d'armes*. We then intend to publish a new *Corpus*, while waiting the decipherment, which now gains, however slowly, some progress.

“At the beginning of the year 1890, I had the honour of entering into correspondence with Major Conder, who had then written the article on the Lycian language, which had been published by the *Academy*. My correspondent sent me a sketch translation of the North face of the Obelisk. That translation was rather premature, and the good intention of the author did not assist him. In fact, the section in question would have been a Lycian edition of the Greek epigram, and consequently, it would have been concerned with the Agora of Xanthus, with the twelve tutelary gods of the city, with the stèle visible from a distance, and with whoever erected such monument. There was lacking the Arcadian hoplites of the 10th verse. Concerning Tissaphernes and the Persian nobles, not an iudicative word! I took the sketch, and cut it out entirely except where it treated of the erection of the Obelisk.

“My *Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes* includes some data permitting to avoid the idea of a servile adaptation of the Greek piece upon that historical and circumstantial narrative. M. Six, appreciating my work, has not accepted even the *minimum*, which I had preserved of Conder's views, and he maintains that in the *sttati sttala* or *sttatimo sttala* concluded treatises of alliances were spoken of, nothing of the Xanthian monolith, of the *τοίανδε στηλὴν ανεθηκεν*. Lastly, (in my *Antiphellus*), I have rejected the idea of the erection of the said Obelisk. And today there is even more; the translation of *sttala* by 'stela' is contested!

“Contested, by Dr. Deecke, in those terms:

“Bei der Durchsicht der Stela Xanthica ist mir eben der Einfall gekommen, ob nicht *sttati*: *sttala* vielmehr *στηλὴ στόλον* ist (nicht *στηλὴν*) ‘er stellt eine Kriegsmacht auf, er sammelt Truppen oder Flotte; auch *urabliya* wird denn etwas Ähnliches sein.’ 16 June, 1891.

“He is right, for *sttala* is not mentioned, and also the verb *sttati* but in this section alone, while *ararazya* = *ηρωων* is a little everywhere. That is why, in attempting to reconstitute all the opening of the Xanthian inscription, South face (unedited fragment) I avoid both *sttala* and *sttati*:

ΤΒΥΞΕΝΕ^Ι: ΡΡΡΡΡΙΕΙΡ: ΡΕΙΤΤΥ: ΕΥΤΡΥΕ: ΡΡΡΡΡ]
ΥΟ^Ι: ΤΕΔ^Ι ΤΕΜΕ ΥΤΡΕΥΡ^Ι Τ: ΔΔΤΔΕ: ΚΟΡΡΑΛ^Ι:
ΥΡ^Ι ΒΡ^Ι: ΡΞΝΔΕ...

—ebōñi aravaziya piyeto xeroi arppa xuh : tideim i : xeriqahé: ddedi: kuperlehh xahba arñnadi . . .

“This monument is *consecrated* by Kreis, son of Harpagos, brother of Karikas, son-in-law of Kybernis, in the agora of Xanthus, in the midst of his people...?”

“**†** is unquestionably *e*, and **ꝝ** *o*.

J. IMBERT.”

CHINESE-UIGUR DOCUMENTS FROM KARA BALGASUN.—Besides the Runic-like inscriptions of which he brought back a copy (published separately: *Anciens caractères trouvés sur des pierres de taille et des monuments au bord du Orkhon dans la Mongolie Orientale* par l’expédition de M. N. Yadrintzoff en 1889. St. Petersb. 1890, 21 pp.) M. Nicolas Yadrintzoff of Irkustk had discovered in his excavations on the site of Karakorum, two fragments inscribed in Chinese, one of them with three lines in Uigur characters, which he brought back to St. Petersburg. M. E. Koch made a communication on the subject to the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Russia (*Bullet.* June, 1890. and *Zapisky* of the Imperial Society of Archeology, t. v., 1891. p. 147-156, with facsimiles; transl. into French by W. S. Lemosoff, and published, without facsimiles, in the *Toung-pao* of Schlegel-Cordier, vol. ii. p. 113-124: *Deux pierres avec Inscriptions Chinoises*). Prof. G. Deveria had also made a communication on these inscriptions to the Académie des Inscriptions (21 Nov. 1890). Mr. Koch, has deciphered the Chinese and found several proper names: *Shé sze-ming*, a rebel Chinese general (759-761 A.D.), and a long title of an Uigur Khan on the first stone:...*Mo^t mi^t-shi ho^p ku^t-tu^t-lu^k hu-lu^k P'i-kié k'o-han*. (I have restored the dropped finals,) which he does not identify; and on the second stone the names of *Y-nan-tchu* and *Mok-ho* which refer apparently to *circa* 821 A.D., besides an allusion to *Kao-tsü*, the noble ancestor, *Kuet P'ié-ki Ko-han*, whom he identifies with the founder of the Uigur Khanate (744 A.D.). Prof. W. Radloff in the same number of the *Zapisky* pp. 265-270, has published two notes on the subject. In the first he has classified chronologically from 744 to 847, the names and titles of the successive Khakans of the Uigurs, and from his list which is arranged in a tableau, it will be seen that the only Khakan who, to our knowledge, bore the various titles which appear on the first inscription was the *Kutluk* (=*ku^t-tu^t-lu^k*, of above, in Turkish “happy”) who ruled between 795-805 A.D. In his second note, the author deciphers the Uigur fragment and finds therein the name of *Moko*. In the number of the *Toung-pao*, quoted above, Prof. Schlegel (*Note sur les inscriptions chinoises de Kara Balgasoun*, p. 125-126), apparently unaware of Dr. Radloff’s researches, suggests that the unidentified Khakan of Mr. J. Koch was a *Ho-kou tou-lou pi-kiia K'o-han* who ruled in 780 - 789 A.D. But the Chinese syllables must be read differently. *Ho* (or better *Ho^p*) goes alone, and *Kou-tou-lou* (or better *Ku^t-tu^t-lu^k*) go together, as they represent Uigur words. The Khakan of 780-789 had not the titles *mo^t-mi^t-shi* and *hu-lu^k* which appear on the inscription, while that of 795-805 had these titles besides the others. Therefore the probabilities are in favour of the latter being the Khakan mentioned on the inscription.—T. de L.

COINS FROM THE GOBI DESERT.—Letter from Lieut. H. Bower Srinagar, Kashmir, 14 May, 1891.—Two or three of the coins are from the buried cities of the Gobi desert: they are of copper, and the inscriptions can be made out; the letters are certainly of a Sanscritic nature.... When I was on the North edge of the Gobi desert, I saw about 30 copper coins that had been picked up in the sand, but the two or three I brought away were the only ones with legible inscriptions."

"There is also a silver one from the neighbourhood of Balk, with the figure of a man and a cow." (?)

POPULAR RELIGION OF CHINA.—Prof. C. de Harlez is preparing a translation of the *Tsik shwoh ts'üen tchén*, a description of the popular gods of the Middle Kingdom, which he will supplement with all the information, native and foreign, within his reach. The work cannot fail to be gratefully received by all students of Comparative religions. It will consist of materials untinged by European theories that will permit the study of the historical evolution of a living mythology, and thus contrast with the various systems unsuccessfully put forth to explain the mythology of ancient nations.

The Guimet Musée des Religions in Paris has been lately enriched, through the exertions of Dr. J. J. de Groot, of a complete series of the deities worshipped in the Fuh-kien provinces.—T. de L.

ORIENTATION IN ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIA.—Prof. G. Deveria, from Paris, 13 May, '91, communicates to me a passage from the *San tchou tsik lioh*, vol. vii, p. 88, quoting and commenting upon a statement of the *Peh shé* or Northern history (386-581 A.D.) Monography of the *Tuh-küch*. The result is that the present North of the Chinese would have answered to the East of these populations (the Dulgas); the South to the West, the West to the North, the East to the South. Therefore they were facing the West.—Among the *Hiung-nu*, according to the *Tsien Han Shu*, kiv. 9¹, in sitting, the post of honour was on the left, facing the North. As the statement comes from a Chinese source, it must not be forgotten that the left here is the East. In the Regulations concerning the Hall of Audience in the *Li-ki*, kiv. XII, 2-4, special reverence is attached to the N.E. corner of (of the Hall with reference to the position assigned to the various Princes). It looks like a faint survival of the old respect to the North-East in the mother-culture of the S. W.—T. de L.

ERRATUM in "SOUTHERN PALESTINE AND THE TEL-EL-AMARNA TABLETS", (last No.)—By mistake the translation of the letter of Zinirida from Lacish was omitted from the sheet. I now give it: "To the king my lord my god, my Sun god who from the Heavens, (rises), this Zinirida of the city of Lacish thy servant speaks. At the feet of the king my lord, the Sun god who from the heavens rises, seven times seven I cast myself. The messenger of the king my lord, whom he sent to me, the words he heard: all is well, and thus I have performed? the order of his judgement." W.—St.C.B.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

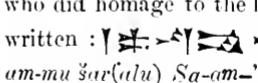
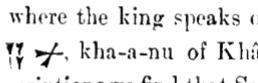
RECENT GERMAN ORIENTAL EXPLORATIONS.

THE LAND OF SAMA'L.

DURING a short visit to Berlin this month I had the opportunity of examining the antiquities obtained by the expedition to North Syria organised by the German Oriental Committee. This powerful body of Orientalists and Archæologists was formed in the year 1838 for the purpose of conducting excavations and explorations in the East, and, under the presidency of Professor von Kaufmann, it numbers among its members most of the principal archæologists of Germany, of whom I may mention Professors Curtius, Schrader, Dillmann, Erman and Virchow among others. The first work undertaken by the Committee was the exploration of the mound of Sendscherly or Sengerli, on the Eastern slopes of the Amanus range. This site is situated on the ancient route leading from Marash to the Bay of Seanderoon, the ancient Bay of Issus. This road way traverses the northern portion of the Beilan pass, and must have been in use until Roman times, as portions of it are well paved, and I was told that in 1830 several sculptured stones had been found in breaking up portions of it. This roadway is now abandoned in favour of the more southern one, from which the Antioch road branches off below the village of Beilan.

The position of Senjerli is an important one as it forms the guard to a pass of the Amanus range, giving entrance through the Taurus into the plains of Cilicia, one of the ancient Cilician gates, and at the same time commands a large and fertile valley watered by the Afrin and the Kara-Su. This fertile district, now known by the name of the Amk or Hollow, was the seat of several small city kingdoms, and at an early period was brought into contact with the civilisations of Babylonia, Egypt, and Assyria; and therefore any explorations in this district

were likely to be of great historical importance.

The excavations at Sinjerli soon brought to light the remains of a large edifice built of brick, and decorated with sculptures in the Hittite style of art. The sculptures are of particular interest, as they occupy a clearly medial position between the more archaic native Asia Minor art, as exhibited in the sculptures at Boghaz Kene and Eynuk, and those of Carchemish, which exhibit a distinct influence of the Assyrian school.¹ The door way of the palace was flanked by a pair of colossal lions, carved in high relief in the style of the Assyrian bulls, but in high straight relief resembling rather the work at Euyuk²—and also in pose somewhat similar to the great lion from the temple of Nergal at Nimroud now in the Nimroud Central Saloon of the British Museum. The numerous sculptures discovered, and the extent of the edifice, proved that the explorers had found the site of some important royal city; but, as the few inscriptions were in the as yet undeciphered Hittite characters, there seemed no clue whatever to the name. A fortunate discovery however was at hand which afforded the required information. In the ruins of the palace were found portions of two large statues bearing inscriptions in the Phoenician-Aramaic character.³ The larger of these had a curious bearded head with long locks in the Assyro-Phoenician style, and wearing a horned cap similar to Assyrian divinities. Upon the point of the statue is a long inscribed dedication to the god Hadad (하나님)⁴ by Panammu, king of Sama'l. This is an extremely important discovery as it enables us to identify the site with one of the most ancient and most important of the city kingdoms of North Syria. Panammu, king of Sama'l, was the contemporary of Tiglath-peleser III, and is enumerated in the long tribute inscription (W.A.I. II, 67) as one of the tributaries who did homage to the king at Damascus in B.C. 732. The name is there written :  d.p. *Pa-an-am-mu šar(alu) Sa-am-'la-ai.* Panammu king of the city of the Samalians. The city kingdom seems to have been conquered by Tiglath-pileser earlier in his reign, for in a mutilated text from Nimroud, (Layard, Insc. 73, 3, 12), we read : *alu Sa-am-'al-la alvi aksud DCCC. nisi adi marsiti sunu (aslula).* “The city of Sama'l I besieged, I captured, (and) 800 men with their possessions I carried away.” The land of Sama'l is also mentioned in the Kurkh inscription of Shalmanesar III (B.C. 854), where the king speaks of the capture of Lutibu the stronghold of  *kha-a-nu* of Khânu of the country of the Sama'lians. In the inscriptions we find that Sama'l is mentioned in conjunction with other North

Syrian states which enable us to identify its position as exactly that of Senjerli.

The valley between the Amanus range and the Nimrud Dagh and Jebel Allah, watered by the Kara-Su and the Afrin is known by the name of the Amk, a name which is evidently the Amekü of the lists of Thothmes III,⁵ and which has given its name to the village of Amek-Keui S.E. of lake of Antioch : and was frequently traversed by the armies of both Egypt and Assyria. It formed the ancient province of Commagene, the *Kumukhai* of the inscriptions. This province embraced within its bounds several smaller kingdoms. Between the Afrin and the gulf of Antioch was the land of the Patinai, and north west of this on the slopes of the Amanus and the shores of the gulf of Scanderoon and the ancient bay of Issus, lay the kingdom of the Kuaians occupying the fringe of the Cilician plain the Khiliki of the inscriptions with the important city of Tartsi⁶ or Tarsus. The northern portion of the valley near the head waters of the two rivers and the slopes of the Taurus and Nimrud-dagh ranges to the banks of Euphrates was the kingdom of the Gamgu-maia,⁷ the Zeugama of the classics which adjoined the district of the Hittite and the Armenian kingdom of the land of Miliid the modern Malatiyeh.⁸ Between this kingdom and the land of the Patinai on the slopes of the Amanus range was the kingdom of Sama'l, a portion exactly marked by Senjerli. There seems to have been two gateways into this rich province, from the East entrance was obtained through the pass near Azzaz the ancient Khazazu, while on the West the pass near Senjerli gives access to the Cilician plain.

The Kingdom was wealthy having the possession of the silver mines in the Taurus, and therefore silver formed an important portion of the tribute. In the Kurkh inscription of Shalmanesar II, we read : "From Khayauu son of Gabbru who (dwells) at the foot of mount Amanus, 10 talents of silver, 90 talents of copper, 30 talents of iron, 300 vestments of embroidered stuff and linen, 300 oxen, 3000 sheep, 200 logs of cedar....I received," and the annual tribute placed upon the country was " 10 maneh of silver, 200 logs of cedar and an *homer* of cedar resin each year." (Kurkh Ins. I, 24-25.) We may conclude therefore that the land of Sama'l was a wealthy and prosperous kingdom. The city although occupied by the Hittites, whose sculptures and inscriptions are found there seems at an early period to have had Aramean Semitic rulers, as the names of the kings known to us appear all to be Semitic.

Gabbaru	contemporary of Assurnazirpal (Kurk Ins. 1, 24)	b.c. 880.
Khayannu }		
Khainu }	Shalmanesar II	b.c. 854.
Pan-Ammu ,,,	Tiglath pilesar III	b.c. 732.

Gabbaru or Gabru is apparently the Semitic גָּבָר compare the local name Gibbar in Ezra 11, 20, as also the Assyrian *Gabru*, while his son Kainu or Khaynu, certainly has a marked Semitic appearance. Pan-Ammu is a name formed similar to such Hebrew forms as Penuel פְּנַיֵּל and פְּנַיָּאֵל "the face of El," the Pani-ilu of the inscriptions of Khammurabi. Here the divine element is that of Ammu אַמּוּ *Am-mu*. This name was given to the supreme god of the Syrian Ammorites and occurs also in the name אַמְּמִיָּה אַמְּמִיָּה Ammi-ba'la a Syrian king mentioned by Assurnazirpal (Rec. P. II, 148-12), and also in that of אַמְּמָעֵל אַמְּמָעֵל Ammu-la-din, the king of Kedar, and of in Ammunadab king of Ammon a contemporary of Assurbanipal (S.A. p. 140 l. 31). The occurrence of the name in these regions is extremely interesting on account of its association with the mission of Balaam, בֶּלְעִם whose name seems "A lord is Ammu," and whose city of Pethor,⁶ the *Pitru* of the inscriptions, was situated not far distant, near the banks of the Sajur river. The occurrence of this name clears up the expression in Numbers I. XXII, 5, where "the land of the children of his people" must now be read "the land of the children of Ammu (Beni Ammu). Ammu or עַמּוּ is also, as Dr. Neubauer has pointed out, the divine element in Rehobo-am and Jerobo-am. The name of the king of Sama'l, Pan-ammu, means "the face of Ammu," "the reflection of Ammu," and is a purely Aramean name. This Semitic character of the inhabitants is borne out by the portrait of the king which appears on the great stela of Esarhaddon from here, which has a distinctly Semitic type of features. There is little mention of the land of Sama'l after the tribute of Fan-anmu, but the city appears to have been occupied by the Assyrians under Esarhaddon on his return from the expedition against Tirhakah and the capture of Memphis in b.c. 670. During the explorations at Sinjerli, the explorers found in the ruins a remarkably fine stela of lime stone about 10 feet high and in the same style as the monoliths of Samsi-Rimman and Assur-nazir-apla in the British Museum. The obverse of the monument has an arched panel cut and framed in which is the figure of the king. He is clad in his richest robes and wears a crowned head dress with a richly embroidered veil behind it. In his right hand he holds what appears to be a cup, while in his left is his royal

sceptre, which here differs somewhat in form from that usually met with having a lotus bud head. This may be attributed to the fact that the statue was set up after the great Egyptian war in B.C. 671, when the king claimed the titles of the Pharaohs as well as those of Assyria. In front of the figure of the king are the figures of two kings small in size hardly reaching to the knees of the larger figure. The first of these is a distinct negro with curly hair, thick lips and bullet head, his ankles and wrists are in fetters. He wears however on his head a crown with the royal uræus serpent diadem. From the inscription we learn that this is "Tarku (𒋻-𒈾-𒁕-𒋻-𒈾-=) sar mat Muzur u Kusi. "Tarku king of Egypt and Ethiopia." Behind Tirhakah stands a Syrian prince, clad in a long robe, bearded and wearing a conical cap, whose name does not occur in the text, but who is probably the ruling prince of Sama'l.

The inscription begins with a long invocation somewhat different to that usually found on the tablets of which I give a transcription.

(Ilu) Aššur ab ili ra-~~t~~-im rit-te-ya
 (Ilu) Anu is-ru sak-tu-u na-bu šu-mi ya
 (Ilu) Belu sa-ku mu-ki-ii pali ya
 (Ilu) Ea (?) ri-su mu-du u mu-sim sim-si-ya
 (Ilu) Sin Il Nanna (ki) nam-ru mu (dam) mi-ik tukulti ya
 (Ilu) Šamas dayan Sami u irsiti pa-ri-su purissi-ya
 (Il) Rimman bel ra-as-pa mu (na?) ku-is ummaui ya
 (Il) Nergal (𒅗) e-bil Igigi u Anunaki mu-khab-bu šarru-ti-ya
 (Il) Sibbiti ilu gar-du-ti sa-pe-ik na-ki-ri ya
 Ili rabute kali-su-nu mu sim mu-sim-ti
 Sa Anaku (I) mi-gir su-un i-li-ra-ki? da-na-an li-i-tu

TRANSLATION.

To Assur, the father of the gods, the lover of my service,
 To Anu, the supreme judge of all, the proclaimor of my name,
 To Bel the most high, the establisher of my reign,
 To Ea, the giver of of Wisdom, the foreteller of my destiny.
 To Sin, the lord of Ur, the bright One, the benefactor of my life,
 To Samas, the judge of heaven and earth, the decider of my decisions,
 To Rimmon, the burner, the urger-on of my army,
 To Nergal, ruler of the Igigi, and Anunaki the lover of my reign,
 To the Seven warrior gods, the sweepers-away of the enemies of my
 majesty,
 These great gods, all of them the foretellers of my fate;
 For me, the king their favourite, they made great my glory.

In the names and titles of the king given here, we recognize the fact that the inscription was written late in his reign, for the king assumes titles which he could not have had until after B.C. 670.

He calls himself:

Aššur-akha-iddina šar rabū, šar dānu, šar kiššati, šar mat Aššur. Šakkanaku Rabili, šar mat Šumiri u Akkadi, šar mat Kar-Duniyas, kali šūn, šar šarri mat Muzur, Pa-tu-ru-sū u mat Kn-su.

That is:

Essarhaddon, the great king, the powerful king, the king of multitudes, king of Assyria, High-priest of Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad (and) king of Kar-Duniyas, king of kings of the land of Egypt, Pathros, and Ethiopia.

This series of titles is that of the later part of the king's reign, and is the same as that found on bricks from the king's palace at Sherif Khan near Mosul, the ancient Tarbitsi, which must therefore have been built between B.C. 670 and 681.

The campaign of Esarhaddon began in his tenth year, B.C. 671-670, and is mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle in these words:

Satti X (kan) Arakha nisannu umman Assuri ana Mizir illiku (☞), Arakh Duzu um III, um XVI, um XVIII. III essu diktum ma mat Mizir . . ., um XXII Mimbi (✚ ☛ ☚) alu šarru-ti šu zabit šar šu ultezi.

"The tenth year, in the month Nisan, the army of Assyria to Egypt marched. In the month Tammuz, on the 3rd, 16th, and 18th days, three times battles in the land of Egypt were. On the twenty-second day the city of Memphis his royal city, was taken. The king abandoned it."

This agrees exactly with the account upon the monolith, which is somewhat fuller:

"Tarku, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, from the city of Iskhupri, as far as his city of Memphis, a journey of 15 days (*alak XV umi kakker*), each day without ceasing (*umi šam la-naparka*) I followed. His numerous fighting men I slew, and him with the blows of my lance five times in a deadly manner I smote. Memphis, his royal city, in half a day, I captured."

This march seems to have been the same of which an itinerary is given in the fragment *W.A.I.*, III, 3, 5, 4:

"Then the command of Assur my lord in my ears was made,
Camels of the kings of Arabia all of them I gathered,
30 kaspu of ground a journey (*malak*) of 15 days in haste (?)
4 kaspu of ground of rough (*gabi*) stones,
4 kaspu of ground a journey of two days, of serpents
with two heads (*zer II kakkadi*)
I trampled in the way. 4 kaspu of ground a
journey [of two days] of *aenpi* flies (*zubbu*)
4 kaspu of ground a journey of two days,

15 kaspu of ground a journey of 3 days I descended ;
The great lord Merodach to my help came."

The march here recorded is given in a somewhat abbreviated form in the fragment of the Xth Campaign, which I published in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. V. This war was caused by the intrigues of the Egyptian king with Ba'al, king of Tyre. From this fragment we learn that the army marched from Aphek on the borders of Samaria (*Samirina*) as far as the city of Raphikh (*Rapikhi*), which was near to the River of Egypt; and thence as described on the Sinjerli stone through Iskhupri to Memphis, another almost similar distance. It would appear that the usual march of the army was *two Kaspu* per day, that is, four hours time or from eight to ten miles a day, a rate which gives almost the approximate time of thirty days, according to the distance from Aphek to Memphis.

This monument must have been set up at the same time that the statue of the king was carved on the rocks at the mouth of the Lycus (*Nahr-el-kelb*), as the text is very similar. It is curious that in his lists of tributaries in other inscriptions the king makes no mention of the land of Sama'l; but his monument was probably erected here in order to quell the districts of Cilicia and the Tanrus which he had visited some time previously; inasmuch as he concludes his inscription by saying : *U sas dhir ra u ana tamar kissat nakri ana zat uni ulmid abnu narua suatu* : "I caused to be written and for the inspection of the host of my foes I erected ? this stone."

These discoveries at Senjerli are very important, as they show the existence of a rich and powerful centre of civilisation, at a point where there was close contact with Asia Minor and the regions occupied by the Hittite and other prehellenic tribes. The remains at Senjerli show many traces of the influence of Assyria on the strange art of the people, but of this subject I propose to speak in a subsequent article.

NOTES—

- 1) I propose shortly to deal with the interesting and important subject of the Hittite art and civilisation in the pages of the B.O.R. as we appear now to have as the result of these and other explorations a more definite basis on which to study the subject.
- 2) For these sculptures, see Perrot and Guillaume, *Mission en Galatie*.
- 3) This inscription has a remarkable peculiarity ; it is written in the Phoenicio-Aramaic characters, but these are cut in relief, a custom

which appears to me to be derived from the former use of the Hittite hieroglyphics cut in this manner.

- 4) The name Addu or Hadad had variant forms of Dadu-Dadi Didu, and as Prof. Sayce has pointed out by comparison of II Saml. xviii. 10, and I. Chron. XVIII, 9, where the names Io-ram and Hado-ram interchange the name was identified with that of the God of Israel, (Rec. P.N.S. iv. 70). The occurrence of the name in this district is to be expected as Aleppo the Khilbunu, or Helbon, and the Khalman of the inscriptions had a temple dedicated to Adad (→+KA+H+) in which Shalmaneser III offered sacrifice, (Kurkh II, 88), and Mr. Tomkins is probably right in identifying it with the Kar-Rimmon of the inscriptions, (B.&O.R. III, 44, No. 17). The passage in the inscription of Shalmaneser II, reads *nizi pan* (◁) *Addu* (→+KA+H+) *sa alu Khalman* (→+KA+) *epus*, "Victims before Addu of Khalman (Aleppo) offered."
- 5) This land of Ameku occurs in the lists of Thotmes III. No. 308 and, as Mr. Thomkins (B.&O.R., III. 5 p. 112) remarks, is clearly the prescribed in the village name of *Amek-Keui*, S.E. of the lake of Antioch. All this district is full of sites worthy of exploration.
- 6) *Tartsi* seems certainly to correspond with the site of Tarsus and the so called tomb of Sardanapalus may be of Hittite origin. It must be noted also that some of the Cappadocian tablets, written in a script similar to that of the Tel-el Amarna tablets, were obtained by Mr. Ramsay at Tarsus.
- 7) The site of Pitru or Pethor seems to me to be clearly identified with the mound of Tash-Atan, mid way on the road between Carchemish and the Sajur. This mound I visited in March 1880, and was much struck by its suitability for explorations. It is built on the outer face of a small spur of the lime-stone hills and like most of these cities has a small wady between it, into which sheep and cattle could be driven, and with a water supply. The name Tash-Atan, the village of him who turns the stone, is derived from a large black stone in the centre of the little village, which however really is an old Roman miles stone. The name is I thoroughly believe derived from an older name of Petra which in its turn was a corruption of Petru.
- 8) *Iskhupri*. This name evidently contains the Egyptian word "Kepher," but the site of the city is unknown it must have been between Raphia and Memphis probably in the desert, to the South of Wady-Tumilât.

W. ST CHAD BOSCAWEN.

ETRUSCAN DIVINITY-NAMES.—PART I.

I.

In offering some remarks upon Etruscan divinity-names, I shall assume that the Etruscan language does not belong to the Indo-European family of speech. Now that even Prof. Sophus Bugge, in his latest work *Etruskisch und Armenisch*, admits that his laborious attempts to connect Etruscan with the Italic dialects have ended in failure, it would surely be waste of time to argue in these pages against the Aryan theory of Etruscan, which the criticisms and researches of Canon Taylor, Prof. Sayce, and Dr. Carl Pauli, not to mention others, have made impossible. We may regard Etruscan as *sui generis*, or attempt, with Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, to connect it with Libyan;¹ or we may incline to link it with some of the obscure dialects of Asia Minor, but obviously Indo-European it is not. For my own part, I should be willing to rest this fact upon a study of the numerals alone;² but it is quite unnecessary to do so, since e.g., a study of the divinity-names makes it equally apparent that the language is an outlying member of the Turanian or Ugro-Altaic family;³ and, as such, is a sister-speech with the Uralic dialects Suomi (Finnic), Lapp, Estonian, Permian, Zyrianian, Votiak, Magyar, Ostiak, etc.; with the Samoied Group, including Yenissei; with the Turko-Tatar dialects; Mongol and Tungusian, including Mantchu; and, lastly, with the extinct West Asian Group of Sumero-Akkadian, Elamitic, and Iroto-medie. An archaic historical connexion of very great importance between the Euphrates Valley and China has been abundantly proved by the Director of this Magazine; whilst the recent researches of the Rev. C. J. Ball⁴ go far to show a linguistic connexion between Akkadian and Chinese. Hence, not to mention Eskuara (Basque) and any other non-Aryan European languages, we have an immense group of allied dialects, stretching from the Alps to the Pacific: and the difficulty in establishing a linguistic connexion between particular words and names arises almost entirely from the loss of intermediate forms. Who, were it not for intermediate forms, would regard ☰ as the outcome of a circle, the original and natural representation in drawing of the sun? And, as in drawing and writing, so is it in language. The few words of the dialect of the Arintzi, a tribe who lived near the river Yenissei, which have been preserved by

the traveller Strahlenberg, show, in several instances, an extraordinary resemblance to Etruscan; had such a dialect been found in Inscriptions of the date of those of Etruscan, the task of the philologist of to-day could have been far easier. From the foregoing consideration it will also be observed that a comparative study of Etruscan comes well within the scope of this Magazine as an '*Oriental Record*', so true is the remark of Seneca, "Tuscos Asia sibi vindicat."⁵

II.

Etruscan names of divinities and mythological personages are either (1) native, or (2) borrowed from (*a*) the Greeks, or (*b*) elsewhere, *i.e.*, Phœnicia, Asia Minor, &c. The discovery of the presence of Etruscans in Lemnos⁶ opened out quite a new phase of their history, and their long intercourse with the Phœnicians and Karthaginians has not yet obtained the attention which it well deserves. I shall not here treat of any familiar and obviously Greek mythological names which reappear in Etruscan forms, *e.g.*, Gk. 'Αἰ̄εας, 'Αἰ̄δης = Et. *Aitas*, *Aita*, *Eita*; but shall only refer to native names, or to borrowed names which have not as yet received any, or any satisfactory, explanation.

Acca Larentia. 1. Legend. Acca Larentia appears in Roman mythic history as an Etruscan woman of great beauty and lax morals, beloved by Héraklēs, who won her by a cast of dice: she afterwards became the wife of the Etruscan Tarrutius ('Carucius' in Macrobius), and left a large fortune to the Romans.⁷ Another version of the legend made her the wife of the shepherd Faustulus, nurse of Romulus and Remus, and another of 12 sons.⁸ As a courtezan she was said to have been called Lupa,⁹ a circumstance which connects her with the Wolf of the legend. Other Classical writers refer to the story. She is Larentia ('Larentina' in Angustin) as the mother of the "12 country Lares," and the sacred day of the Lares stood next to hers in the Calendar.¹⁰ Vergil names the special friend of Camilla 'Acca.'¹¹

Acca is thus a nurturing mother-goddess, whose sons, in one aspect, were probably represented by the 12 cities of the Etruscan confederation. The legend of her profligacy, whatever else it may signify, probably includes reminiscences of non-Aryan women-customs and manners. For, although the Greeks describe the Etruscans "as pirates and robbers, or as effeminate debauchees," and "the Romans brand them as sluggards, gluttons, and voluptuaries,"¹² yet, in all probability, and after making allowance for the fact that their civilization was far more advanced and

therefore far more decayed than that of Rome, they were no worse, if no better, than their neighbours.

2. Etymology. Fick¹³ gives *Akâ*, 'mother,' as a 'Lallwort' ('baby-word') of the Indo-European 'Grundsprache.' His illustrative instances, in which he is followed by Roscher,¹⁴ are "sskr. *akkâ* f. *Mutter*. + 'Akkâ' n. pr. *Amme* der *Demeter*.—lat. *Acca Larentia* die *Larenmutter*." Now baby-words for 'father,' 'mother,' &c., are altogether unsafe as a foundation for philological superstructures; they may be the same half the world over, and in a dozen unconnected languages. I am unable to find a Sanskrit word *akkâ*; 'mother' : and any Indian word *akkâ* is more likely to belong to the non-Aryan dialects of India. 'Akka' is given by Roscher,¹⁵ not as the name of a nurse of Dêmêtêr, but as the appellation of a kind of bogey with which woman frightened children, and as probably connected with *ἀσκός*, Lakonian *ἄσκόρ* (Hêsychios). There is therefore, practically no evidence in favour of an Aryan etymology of *Acca*. But, when we turn to the Turanian languages the evidence, as might be expected, at once becomes overwhelming. Thus we find :—

Akkadian.—	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} a-k \\ e-kh-i \\ e-\chi-i \end{matrix} \right\}$	= "to make."
Kalmuck.—	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} a-k-i \\ e-k-e \end{matrix} \right\}$	
Mongol.—	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} e-gh-e \\ e-k-e \end{matrix} \right\}$	= "mother."
Buriat.—	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} i-k-e \\ e-x-e \end{matrix} \right\}$	
Tchagatai.—	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} e-c'-e \\ e-c-i \end{matrix} \right\}$	
Uigur.—	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} e-c-i \\ i-j-a \end{matrix} \right\}$	= "wife."
Kamassine.—	$i-j-i$	
Yakute.—	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} i-j-i \\ a-g-y \end{matrix} \right\}$	= "mother."
Magyar.—		
Laponie.—	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} a-k \\ a-kk-a \end{matrix} \right\}$	= "prægnans, "foetus."
Etruscan.—	$\Lambda-c\chi-A$	= "wife."
Et. - Lat.—	$a-cc-a$	

The goddess Sar-Akka ("Ancient-lady") was "Dea partus, a Lapponibus olim culta, cui adscribabant partus formositatem et felicitatem parturæ. Mater ejus fuit *Mudderakka*." Sar-Akka was also known as Uks-Akka ("The-Lady-of-the-door," i.e. of birth. *Uks=janna*; Ak. *ik*, 'door') "Dea fuit gravidarum Uks-Akka, a præcis Lapponibus ideo culta, quia ab illa dependere credebant sexus diversitatem, utrum puer nasceretur, an puella; quare, qui pueros exoptabant, huic sacra fecere Deae."¹⁶ Acca, as

“Lady-of-the-Door,” is thus connected with Ani (=Ianis, Janis, Janus); and the Etruscan *Aeχa*, as a maternal divinity and goddess of birth, both in name and character is in exact accordance with her Turanian sister.¹⁷

Aeθe.¹⁸ A female figure represented on a mirror, standing between Menrva and Turan, clad in a tunic ending at the knee. There appears to be no Greek, Etruscan, or Turanian word which can fairly be connected with this name. The Et. *Aeθe*=Gk. *Aθē*, *Atē* (Cf. Et. *A-e-m-phitru*=Gk. *Am-phitryōn*), and the goddess in question is probably the Ilian *Atē*, the Hittite 'Atar-'Ati (Atargatis), 'Aēa, whom Hésychios defines as “the Babylonian Hērē,” the goddess of Gargamis—Karchemish—Hierapolis, “the Assyrian Hērē,”¹⁹ 'Aθas=’o θeo^s.²⁰ The name occurs elsewhere in a Hittite connexion, for 'Ēsāv married 'Adāh, daughter of Elōn the 'Hitty.²¹ 'Ati was probably the female divinity corresponding to the male sun-god Attis, Atys.²² There is nothing improbable in the name of a goddess known throughout Asia Minor and Syria being found on an Etruscan mirror, and we shall meet with several similar instances. A goddess Hērē, or an equivalent of Hērē, would group appropriately with Athēnē (= Menrva) and Aphroditē (=Turan). A Gk. *t* at times becomes *θ* in Etruscan, e.g., Gk. *Orestēs* = Gt. *Urusθe*.

Arun.²³ A naked male figure holding a spear in the left hand, with a scarf or cloak over the left arm, facing a naked Turan, which some consider to be a male.²⁴ *Arun* has been explained as an Arēs, with reference to aīe ē' 'Aρης,²⁵ as *arun*(ulus &c. Indeed, no explanation of Etruscan words and names have been too far-fetched for many writers on Etruseology, weighted as they have been with false philological views; but, ere arriving at a conclusion in any case, I have endeavoured to weigh the whole of the evidence available, and to take into account previous theories and suggestions. Gerhard calls the figures “Venus and Adonis,” therefore considers the Turan to be female. *Arun* = 'Awor, 'Aē and 'Aēos being names of Adónis.²⁶

Amin.²⁷ Female divinity on mirror with *Castur* (Kastōr), *Araθa* (Ariadnē), *Eiasun* (Iason), and *Fuyluns* (= Dionysos). None of these personages are Etruscan. Castrēn, when speaking of the Finnic Māninggāiset, observes, “one might be inclined to derive the word Māninggāiset, which is also pronounced Menningāiset, from the Germanic *menni* (*minne*), which, according to Grimm, was, among the²⁸ Germans, a common appellation of a higher superhuman being of a female nature.” The passage referred to occurs in Grimm’s Chapter on “Wise Women,” a company which includes Norni (Fatae), Walachuriun (Valkyrjor),

Swan-maidens, and Wood-wives. He says, "One general name for such beings must from very early times have been *menni*, *minni*; it occurs only in compounds: *merimanni*, pl. *merimanniu*, translates siren or sylla."²⁹ The name occurs again in the Gk. ἀμενηρός, 'fleeting,' a term applied to dreams, shades, ghosts, &c. The *Aminθ*, "a little winged genius,"³⁰ the presiding and superhuman being, stands in the centre of the mirror-group, and is the *Menθi*, with the Etruscan abstract suffix *θ*, which is especially applied to female personifications, e.g., *Van-θ*, *Lein-θ*, *Snena-θ*. This suffix is an abraded form of an earlier *-θi*, and represents an original *-tar*. Thus the Etruscan goddess *Snenaθ*, who is represented with Turan and Atunis (=Gk. Adōnīs), is identical with the Finnic goddess *Suone-tar* ("Daughter-of-the-veins"), "slender virgin,"³¹ who "healed and renewed the flesh,"³² and is thus mistress of health and beauty; and *Snenaθ* = *Suonenaθ* = *sune* ('vein') + *na* ("belonging-to") + *θ* (= *θi*, = *ta-r*, 'daughter'), "the Vein-belonging-to-daughter." So the *tar* in *Is-tar* = the Ak. *tur*, 'small,' 'young' (cf. Ak. *tur-rak*, *-rakki*, "little-woman" = 'daughter'), Finnic *tar*, 'son,' 'child,' *ty-tar*, 'girl,' Mordvin *tsora*, 'son,' Magyar *dér*, 'girl,' Asiatic Turkic *tura*, Etruscan *etera*, 'child.' *Tar* is the most common ending for the names of the female mythological personages mentioned in the *Kalerala*; hence the use of *θ* in Etruscan goddess-names. The name *Aminθ* is formed thus:—

Germanic.—	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} M-e-n-n-i \\ M-i-n-n-i \end{array} \right.$
Greek.—	$A-m-e-n(e)-n-e$
Etruscan.—	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} A-m-e-n(e)-n-e-\theta \\ A-M-I — N-\theta \end{array} \right. \text{ (abraded form).}$

Name-forms are constantly highly abraded in the Inscriptions, e.g. the Gk. *Gany* = *mēdēs* = Et. *Catmite*; Gk. *Hēraklēs* = Et. *Hrclē*.

Ani. The name of *Ani* (= Janus, vide *sup.*), the unanthropomorphic divinity of *Velaθri* (Volaterrae), who generally appears on the coins as "Bifrons Janus," is a variant of the Ak. *an*, *in*, "divine-one," *ana*, "sky-god," Finnic *aina*, 'spirit,' Votiaik *in*, 'sky,' *in-mar*, 'god,' Tawgy-Samoied *ñu*, Turak and Yenissei-Samoied *a*.³³ *Avvlos* is an Etruscan king in Plutarch,⁴ and the name *Ani* appears on the first of the divisions of the *Tempulum* of Piacenza, "that curious instrument of ancient Etruscan augury" (Sayee.) With the Ak. *Ana* and the allied words *Finzi* and *Lenormant* connect the Zyrianian *jen*, 'god,' which appears in

Strahlenberg³⁵ as *jahn*: but Castrèn seems to be right in regarding *jen* as an abraded variant of the great Turanian god-name *Jum-a-la*. The Eskuara *Yin-kaa*, *jin-koia*, 'god,' is singularly similar. There was a four-faced Janus-statue at Falese³⁶ (Falerii), and Macrolius remarks:—“Cornificius Etymorum libro tertio Cicero inquit non Ianum sed Eanum nominat. Hinc et Phœnices in sacris imaginem eius exprimentes draconem finixerunt in orbem redactum caudamque suam deuorantem, ut apparet mundum et ex se ipso ali et in se reuolui. Ideo et apud nos in quattuor partes spectat, ut demonstrat simulacrum eius Faleris adiectum. Gavius Bassus in eo libro quem De Dis compositus Ianum bifrontem fingi ait quasi superum atque inferum ianitorem, eundem quadriformem quasi uniuersa climata maiestate complexum.”³⁷ With the Ani-statue of Falese we may compare the four-armed statue at Amyklai in Lakonia which being that of a Sun-god was erroneously called an Apollôn,³⁸ for Hellenic divinities whose shapes are grotesque monstrous or in anyway unhuman, are invariably not indigenons, and many apparent exceptions to this canon, on careful examination serve only to confirm it. If the Lak-daimonian statue represented a single figure, and not a male and female in combination, it would doubtless symbolize Dionysos-Iakchos, the Time-king, in his aspect as Lord of the four seasons, with whom Movers well compares the Four-faced Karthaginian Baal,³⁹ and the four-faced image of Zeus (Baal) which Manasseh is said to have set up in the House of the Lord. “Having desecrated the House of the Lord, he set up the four-faced image of Zeus in it.”⁴⁰ And this fourfold divinity actually appears in Athens itself, though in the disguise and under the name of Hermès, in a similar form to that in which Manasseh introduced him into the Temple. In the Kerameikos stood a four-headed Dionysiac statue, the work of the sculptor Tèlesarchides.⁴¹ It stood where 3 ways met, and the idea is quite distinct from that connected with Hermès Trikephalos, and Hekatê Trioditis (Trivia).

When in 1877-8 I published *The Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vols. I. & II., the idea that Dionysos was non-Hellenic in origin was quite novel to the scientific world. What was then thought by many to be a bold and doubtful theory, has now, in the case of those writers who have continued or kept up with mythological investigation, and who are not hopelessly wedded to fantastic views, almost passed into a common place. Thus Prof. Sayee observes:—“The Greeks brought most of the names of their deities with them from the early home where they had lived before the separation of the Aryan family. But Dionysos certainly was of later importation, and

came from the East, either from the Phœnicians or from the Hittites."⁴² Writing in 1876, I said that Semelē was in all probability a non-Aryan name; but its origin was then unknown. Lecturing in 1887, Prof. Sayce was able to say, "As the worship of Dionysos, the Wine-god had been borrowed by the Greeks from the East, it had long been assumed that the name of Semelē must be of Phœnician extraction; but it was only in 1884 that a Phœnician inscription was found in a bay to the west of the Peiræos containing the name Pen-Samlath, 'the Face of Samlath.'"⁴³ But the matter can now be taken still further back. What is Phœnician mythology and belief but an outcome and phase of Euphratean mythology and belief? And now we find the origin of Semelē—'Samlath, the mother of Dionysos, in the Sumero-Akkadian Samelâ  Ilu Sa-me-la-a, "the goddess Samlath," so that alike on the Etruscan and the Euphratean side the unanthropomorphic four-faced divinities are found to be connected with a Turanian culture, and hence, with each other.

Aril.⁴⁵ "Hercules [Héraclès], here called *Kalanikē*, from his 'glorious victory,' holds the apples he has just taken from *Aril*, [the Phœnician-Greek ATel-AS, 'Darkness' the placer and sustainer of the stars on high,] who bears the celestial globe on his shoulders."⁴⁶ *Aril*='Eρι-λ(αμπτίς) the Starlit-sky.

NOTES—

- 1) Brinton, *On Etruscan and Libyan Names*, 1890.
- 2) Vide R. B. Jr., *The Etruscan Numerals*, in *The Archaeological Review*, July 1889.
- 3) Cf. Rev. John Campbell, *Etruria Capta*, 1886: It is now generally agreed that the Etruscans were a Turanian people" (P. 2). Similarly, Mr. E. R. Wharton, *Etyma Latina*, 1890, excludes Etruscan from the 'Indoceltic' languages and Italic dialects.
- 4) *The New Accadian, &c.* in the *Proceedings of the Soc. Bib. Archæol.* Nov., Dec., 1889; Feb., March, June, Nov., Dec., 1890; and April, 1891.
- 5) *Consol. ad Helv.* vi. 9.
- 6) Vide R. B. Jr., *The Etruscan Inscriptions of Lemnos*, in the *Proceedings of the Soc. Bib. Archæol.* April-May, 1888.
- 7) Vide Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* V; Plutarch, *Romulus* V, *Quast. Rom.* 55; Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 10; Augustin, *De Civ. Dei*, vi. 7.
- 8) Vide Macer, ap. Macrob. *Sat.* i. 10; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 55; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XVIII. 2; Aul. Gellius, vi. 7.
- 9) Livy, i. 4.
- 10) Vide Deecke-Müller, *Die Etrusker*, ii. 105-7.
- 11) *Aen.* XI. 820.
- 12) Denni, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, I. cii-ciii, where the question is discussed.
- 13) *Wörterbuch der Indogerm. Sprachen*, i. 7.

14) *Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, in voc. *Acca*.

15) *Lexicon*, in voc.

16) Lindahl and Ohrling, *Lex Lappon*. 1780, in voc. ; vide Castren, *Finnische Mythologie*, 142 *et seq.*

17) Vide R. B. Tr., in *The Academy*, Nov. 12, 1887, p. 325.

18) Vide Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, No. CLXXXIII.

19) *Peri tūs Syriēs Θeōn*, 1.

20) Philon Byblos, ap. Stephanos Byzant. in voc.

21) *Genesius*, XXXVI, 2.

22) Vide Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.* vii. 259 *et seq.* ; R. B. Jr., in *The Academy*, April 10, 1886.

23) Vide Gerhard, *Et. Spiegel*, No. L. Fig. 2.

24) Vide Sayce, in *Cooper's Archaic Dict.* p. 586.

25) *Il.* XX, 31.

26) *Etymot. Mag.*, in voc. 'Āwos.

27) Specchio nel Museo etrusco di Firenze.

28) *Finnische Mythologie*, 125.

29) *Tentonic Mythol.* Eng. edit. by Stallybrass, i. 435.

30) Dennis, *Cit. and Cem. of Etruria*, ii. 88.

31) *Kalerala*, Rune XV.

32) Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, 262.

33) Vide Ibid. Etude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes, 13.

34) *Peri Parallēlōn*, p. 315 E.

35) *Hist. of Siberia*, Eng. edit. 1738.

36) Servius, ad *Aen.* VII, u607.

37) *Sat.* i. 9.

38) Vide Hesychios, in voc. *Kouridion*.

39) *Phönizier*, i. 541.

40) Souidas, in voc. *Manasses*. "He set a carved image, the idol which he had made, in the house of god" (2 *Chron*, xxxiii. 7).

41) Hesychios, in voc. *Hermēs Trikephalos* ; Eustath. ad *Il.* XXIV, 333 ; Photios, *Lex.* in voc. *Hermēs Trikephalos*.

42) *Herodotos*, 157.

43) *Rel. Anct. Bals.* p. 54, note.

44) *W.A.I.* III. lxvi. Col. 5, line 1.

45) Vide Gerhard, *Et. Spiegel*, No. CXXXVII.

46) Dennis, *Cit. and Cem. of Etruria*, ii. 482.

ROBERT BROWN, Jun.

*THE TABLET INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHINESE JEWS
DISCOVERED AT KAI-FUNG FU (CHINA) IN 1850.*

(Continued from p. 141).

The Inscription of 1511.

The record of the Temple² erected in honour of *Eternal Reason*
and the Sacred Writings. (cont.)

After his time, during the *Han* dynasty, this religion entered China.¹ In the first year of *Lung-king*, of the *Sung* dynasty,² a synagogue³ was built at Peën.⁴ In the sixteenth year of *Che-yuen*,⁵ of the *Tuen* dynasty, the old temple was rebuilt,⁶ as a place in which the Sacred Writings might be deposited with veneration.

Those who practice this religion are to be found in other places besides Peën ;⁷ but wherever they are met with, throughout the world,⁸ they all, without exception, honor the *Sacred Writings* and venerate *Eternal Reason*. The characters⁹ in which the Sacred Writings are penned differ

1) The *Han* dynasty lasted from about 200 B.C. to about 200 A.D.

2) A.D. 1164 (see also the *Shang-hae* pamphlet). The other tablet says 1166.

3) For this word “*Synagogue*” I must supply instead the word “*Temple*,” since the Jewish house of worship in China was certainly patterned after the Temple at Jerusalem, with its several courts and *Holy of Holies*.

4) *Kai-fung-fu* of to-day.

5) A.D. 1280 (see also the *Shang-hae* pamphlet).

6) “*Rebuilt*.” The temple at *Kai-fung-fu* was repeatedly damaged and destroyed by fire and flood and as often rebuilt.

7) *Kai-fung-fu*.

8) The Chinese Jews were in communication with Jews from Western Asia, who came by land and sea as traders, and thus they knew more of the outside “*World*” than the Chinese themselves ; the latter having had but little idea of lands beyond their own borders.

9) i.e. The letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

indeed from those employed in the books of the learned in China, but if we trace their principles up to their origin, we shall find that they are none other than the *Eternal Reason* which is commonly followed by mankind.¹

Hence it is, that when *Eternal Reason* is followed by rulers and subjects, rulers will be respectful, and subjects faithful.²

When *Eternal Reason* is followed by parents and children, parents will be kind, and children filial. When *Eternal Reason* is followed by elder and younger brothers, the former will be friendly, and the latter reverential. When *Eternal Reason* is followed by husbands and wives, husbands will be harmonious, and wives obedient.

When *Eternal Reason* is followed by friends and companions, then they will severally become faithful and sincere.³

In *Eternal Reason* there is nothing greater than benevolence and rectitude, and in following it out men naturally display the feeling of compassion and a sense of shame. In *Eternal Reason* there is nothing greater than propriety and wisdom, and in following it out men naturally exhibit the feeling of respect and a sense of rectitude. When *Eternal Reason* is followed in fasting and abstinence, men necessarily feel reverential and awe-struck.⁴ When *Eternal Reason* is followed out in sacrificing to an-

- 1) In this paragraph we discern again how deep was the veneration, on the part of the Jews, for the Chinese classics. They traced the Chinese characters back to the same divine Source as their own alphabet.. Between the words "*Han She*" and "*Eternal Reason*" I wld. insert, *vehicles of*. The characters being *vehicles of divine truth*.
- 2) No nation is so tenacious of mutual *obedience* and *respect* between rulers and subject as the Chinese. The government of China is patriarchal, and this and the following two paragraphs exhibit the patriarchal influence in all the walks of human life. There is thus no land in which social order is so prominent a feature as in China. Not only must the subject be faithful to the ruler, but the ruler himself is bound to act as *father* to his subjects. The same relation subsists between parents and children, elder brothers and younger, husbands and wives, and some among friends and companions.
- 3) We see, moreover, in these paragraphs a Jewish dependence, not upon *human* ideas for the execution of these relations of Society, but upon *The truth of God* ('*Eternal Reason*') as handed down in the 'Sacred Writings' (O.T.) The Jews could hardly refuse to recognize something of a divine plan even among the heathen Chinese, for their laws as revealed in the O.T. were by no means opposed, in spirit, to those of the Chinese.
- 4) The Jews of China followed the old Biblical customs in fasting.

cestors,¹ men necessarily feel filial and sincere. When *Eternal Reason* is followed in divine worship, men bless and praise high Heaven,² the Producer and nourisher of the myriad of things, while in their demeanor and carriage, they consider sincerity and respect as the one thing needful.³

With respect to widows and orphans, the poor and the destitute, together with the sick and married, the deaf and dumb, these must all be relieved and assisted, that they may not utterly fail.⁴ When poor men wish to marry, and have not the means, or when such wish to inter their relatives and are not able to accomplish it, the necessary expenses for such must be duly provided.⁵

Only let those who are mourning for their friends carefully avoid rich viands and intoxicating liquors,⁶ and those who are conducting funeral

1) This "sacrificing to ancestors" shows how readily the Jews imbibed a prevalent Chinese religious notion of the necessity of honoring ancestors. Indeed, none but the Jews could so readily become "worshippers of ancestors," since their reverence for the patriarchs was often equal in intensity to the Chinese worship.

The above 'sacrificing' consisted mainly in offering incense and the fruits of harvest. In the Temple at Kai-fung-fu there was a censer for each of the twelve patriarchs.

2) "Heaven." *Heaven* is the Chinese term for our *Supreme Being*.

3) In this last clause the *everlasting truth of God*, as it is given in the Scriptures, if followed faithfully by men, will produce the things above mentioned.

4) How closely this conforms to the old (*and even the modern*) Jewish customs! In modern times, in Europe and America, the Jews take conscientious care of their own "poor" and "destitute," their own "deaf" and "dumb" &c. In ancient times in Palestine each Synagogue congregation or parish was accustomed to care for its own "orphans." (See Edersheim's *Jewish social life*.)

5) As to the providing of money for men desirous of marriage, there is little said about it by the Rabbins. But it is well-known that intended *brides* were always provided with a dowry. As to the burial of the dead, the Rabbins make it a duty imposed by Scripture, as it is written, "Ye shall walk after the Lord your God." (Deut. XIII. 4). Therefore, according to the Rabbins, as God "buried the dead." (Deut. XXXV. 6), men must do the same. (*Sota* 14a; Edersheim). The Chinese also are very punctilious in their attentions to the dead. Indeed, the Jews and Chinese are wonderfully alike in many of their habits and ideas.

6) It was *Rabbinical Law* that ordered that no meat be eaten, or wine be drunk, or *phylacteries* be worn, while the dead body remained in the house. (Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, under "In death and after death.")

ceremonies not be emulous of external pomp.¹ Let them in the first place avoid complying with superstitious customs,² and in the second place not make molten or graven images,³ but in everything follow the ceremonies that have been introduced from India.⁴

Let there be no false weights and measures employed in trade, with the view of defrauding others.⁵

Looking around us on the professors of this religion,⁶ we find that there are some who strive for literary honours, aiming to exalt their parents and distinguish themselves.⁷ There are some who engage in government employ, both at Court and in the Provinces, seeking to serve their Prince, and benefit the people,⁸ while some defend the country and resist the enemy,⁹ thus displaying their patriotism by their faithful conduct.

- 1) Down to the time of Gamaliel, Paul's teacher, extravagance at funerals had become a prevailing abuse. That Rabbi introduced a reform by commanding that his own body be buried in "plain linen" garments. (Cf. *Tal. Bera*, 53a, "concerning the ancient customs").
- 2) These "superstitious customs" were those practised by that portion of the Chinese population among whom they lived. If "ancestor-worship" is "superstitious custom," the Jews evidently did not know when they passed the bounds of lawful worship.
- 3) This is not only a reference to the "Decalogue" injunction, but a warning against the making and erection of the images prevalent in Chinese worship, both among Buddhists and Confucianists.
- 4) My researches refer this 'India' to the region of modern Cabul, beyond the present boundaries of Hindustan. The Jews themselves in 1511 did not think of a definite region.
- 5) No people have been so strenuous in their efforts to ensure honesty, in commerce and trade, as the Jews. See Edersheim's *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, under 'Commerce.' See also a number of Mishnic tractates, as *Buba B.*, v. 10. 11.
- 6) *i.e.* in China.
- 7) The Chinese Jews, like the natives of China, strove to attain high literary honours by competitive examinations. Upon literary attainments depended, and *still* depends, all civil and political advancement in China. This, moreover, is the very best way to "exalt parents," *i.e.* by sons attaining literary honours.
- 8) Tradition, and the tablet of 1488 (which see) mention several of these instances.
- 9) The Jews entered the army as privates and as mandarins. The *Annals of the Mongol dynasty* say they were called upon to aid the imperial troops (14th cent. A.D.)

A. K. GLOVER.

(*To be continued*).

THE P'U YAO KING :

A FRAGMENT OF THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA.

(Translated by the late Prof. Dr. S. Beal.)

(Continued from p. 138).

Diligently practising Austerities for six years.

Buddha addressed the Bhikshus and said : "On this Bodhisatwa further reflected with himself, I must exhibit in myself the power of energetic advance in the religious life, by the diligent practise of severe austerities during six years. Now then, what is the character of this six years persevering fast? It is difficult to practise, and not possible for men in their ordinary condition to accomplish; therefore it is called *Kan fu-king*. (diligent, suffering, exercise). Amongst men as well as devas, throughout all creation (*κτίσις*), not one can accomplish this discipline perfectly, except a Bodhisatva now arrived at his last birth (fully accomplished destiny); he alone can undergo this fast, and therefore its name, 'difficult to accomplish.' During its accomplishment, the rules of the four kinds of dhyâna require an enumeration of (i.e. limitation to) the breathing out and breathing in; it demands a thorough sifting of the mind, here is no (extraneous) thought allowed, no consideration of (indifferent) things, no placing a subject before the mind as if for enquiry, but the heart is thoroughly divested of all objective aim; from first to last, all that has ever occurred through every form of existence presents itself to the inward sight, and so it is called 'embracing space,' without action, (active exertion,) yet forbidding the thought of there being no active exertion; it is on this account called "universal reference of all things to the idea of emptiness like space," and so regarding them whilst practising the ecstasy (dhyâna) of which this is the distinctive attribute ; it derives another name of *hu-won-sho-chi*, 'departure without a place to arrive at.'

Wherefore Bodhisatwa, wishful to exhibit in the world the power of his converting doctrine and to set before Devas the consequences of sin, and the possibility of escaping them by acquiring religious merit, set himself to the accomplishment of this most rigorous six-years fast.

Each day taking but one grain of millet seed, sitting with his legs crossed on the naked earth, uncovered and exposed to the violence of wind and rain and storm, he rose not or turned to the right or left, he attended to none of the ordinary calls of nature, he neither lay down to sleep, nor stirred to avoid the pelting shower, or the lightning, or the hail, but through spring and winter and summer he sat there alone in silence and endured all these sufferings, not so much as raising his hand once to his person, but all his members decently arranged, and with no indecent appearance ; and so all the village people and the very oxen and cattle, and those who gathered sticks and grass, passed by and let the dust lie round and upon him without any thought about his object in suffering the privations he did, whilst others regarding him as something of a bizarre character (as a monster) as they passed took up straws and tickled his ears and his nose therewith, but no effect did they even thus produce ; he neither moved nor changed his look ; the Devas, the Nâgas, the Amras the Kinnaras, the Ghandarvas, the Mahoragas and his incomparable demeanour, came and went from his side, offering him their homage and sacrifice ; thus it was Bodhisatwa remained seated for six years enduring these pains, and even that as he sat the seeds of future conversion were sown in the hearts of countless (twelve millions, altho' *tsai* does not necessarily mean "a million") devas and men, thus things went on, even as it is said in the verses following :

Bodhisatwa before he left his home
 So great and noble were his religious merits,
 His heart was ever silently occupied in thought
 How to manifest his compassion to the world.
 Born indeed in this fivefold polluted scene.
 He had come down for this cause and humbled himself thus.
 He had received birth in Iambudwipa,
 In a world full of the misery of sin
 The consequence of false and erroneous doctrine,
 Exhibited in the 62 methods of teaching,
 On this ground he established himself in fixed determination
 He afflicted his body with suffering and privation
 By the side of tanks and springs of water,
 Enduring the bright shining of Sun and Moon,
 In woods and mountain, dells and crags,
 Nauseated with the worship of earth spirits and demons
 He of himself fixed his line of conduct and persevered,

He established himself in a discipline difficult to accomplish,
 Practising the bitter six years fast to its completion
 And this he did to exhibit to the world
 The power of his purpose (body) indestructable as diamond,
 Inmoveable in his exercise of dhyâna
 In the use of numberless principles (*i*,=truth)
 So that whatever religious person (Pratyeka)
 Whatever devas or men of the world
 Or heretical teacher beheld him were filled with joy ;
 And converted by the power of his example
 In the exercise of this severe fast.
 Thus he sat with his legs crossed,
 On the bare earth, with no seat,
 Each day partaking of one grain of food,
 Exhibiting himself thus provided,
 His breath coming forth and not coming forth,
 And again not inhaling his breath,
 For six years thus fixed and resolved,
 Practising every kind of deep meditation
 Without remembrance and yet not without it,
 Not even considering the character of the discipline he endured,
 His heart like empty space
 Thus he remained unmoved in ecstacy.
 With no covering above his body,
 With no screen to shelter him from evil,
 Unmoved as the Mountain he sat,
 Engaged in Dhyâna with no increase or decrease.
 He feared neither wind or rain,
 Tho' unsheltered was his head,
 No portion of his self-possessed dignity did he lose,
 Still lost in imperturbable ecstasy.
 All the men and women folk of the village,
 The cowherds and shepherd boys
 Headlessly piled against him their grass and dust,
 Going up beside him there they laid their loads
 And placed on his body every refuse and dirt,
 Innumerable sufferings were his,
 But all borne with no thought of himself.

Imperturbable still in his meditation,
 His body and flesh now withered away,
 He was but skin and bone in appearance,
 Sunken in and emaciated
 Like the surface of a flat lute in shape (*or form*).
 All the Devas (who beheld) his conduct
 The Amvas, Nâgas, and Gandharvas,
 Observing his accumulated merit,
 All came to the place to do him service,
 And bowing down in worship received instruction,
 The diseased were restored to health,
 And us has he lead in the right way
 According to his loving and compassionate purpose.
 Desiring to eradicate all false doctrine,
 To put from the light all heretical teaching,
 For this cause making plain the results of sin,
 Whilst he sat thus he spoke thus :
 Difficult is the way of this Buddha to find
 What way has this shaven head of mine,
 Acting as I have through countless ages,
 This six years penance is the end of all,
 Now will I convert both Devas and men,
 Their number twelve millions,
 Therefore did this world honour one
 Set thus in imperturbable meditation.

Buddha addressed the Bhikshas and said, "Bodhisatva having finished his painful six years fast thought thus with himself: 'Although I have (or should have) spiritual powers, and the power of Divine Wisdom, if I now with this famished and exhausted body go to the tree of Buddha, then in future days those who live in distant countries will slanderously report that a starveling had arrived at Supreme enlargement; my body ought rather to increase its strength by partaking of fitting (smooth and shining) food, and then going to the Tree and sitting beneath it, I shall be able (as I ought) to perfect the wisdom of a Buddha'."

(To be continued).

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE NEGRITO-PYGMIES OF ANCIENT CHINA.

1. The scanty statements and allusions made by the classical writers about Pygmy-races of men in Africa and in India, were not long ago, still looked upon as flights of fancy based upon distorted reports unworthy of any credence. And similar accounts of travellers and writers of the middle ages concerning the existence of pygmies in China were the object of even greater contempt. Now it has come to pass that the Pygmy-races have assumed their position in scientific anthropology, and their importance in former times increases with the progress of research.¹ Two if not three of their races,² have been found in Africa from the Atlantic Coast to near the shores of the Albert Nyanza, and from the Upper course of the Niger to the Bushmen lands. Their most common name *Akka* has been read by Mariette-Pacha near the figure of a pygmy of an Egyptian monument of the Ancient Empire.³ With the help of their remains in the East their Area has been traced from the Sunda islands to Japan, from Malacea to Tungking, and from South India to Beluchistan and the North of the Persian Gulf, but in contradistinction to what has been found in Africa, one race only has been recognized in India and the Oriental archipelago.⁴ There was a gap between the Negritos of the Philippine islands, their remains in Japan and their brothers of India and the Gulf of Bengal, which my disclosure of the Pygmies of Ancient China has happily filled.⁵ The following pages will show that they have been known in Chinese history in several instances, beginning from the oldest period.

NOTES—

- 1) Prof. A. de Quatrefages has collected in his little work *Les Pygmées : Les pygmées des Anciens, d'après la science moderne, Négritos ou Pygmées Asiatiques, Négrilles ou Pygmées Africains, Hottentots and* Vol. V.—No. 8.

Boschimans : (Paris, 1887, 12mo.) resumés of his own works on the subject since 1861, and of those of many scholars, with bibliographical references.—Prof. William Henry Flower, in his lecture on *The Pygmy Races of Man*, at the Royal Institution, April 13, 1888, has sketched the whole subject with a few additional remarks, notably on two skeletons of Akkas which he had examined.

- 2) Cf. A. de Quatrefages, *Introduction à l'Etude des Races Humaines*, 1889, pp. 385-390.
- 3) In T. Hamy, *Essai de coordination des matériaux récemment recueillis sur l'ethnologie des Négrilles ou Pygmées*, p. 21.
- 4) Cf. A. de Quatrefages, *Introduction*, pp. 390, and 344-353.
- 5) Short notices have been given by me in *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, 1887, § 127-128, and *Formosa Notes on MSS. Languages and Races*, 1887, § 34.

I.

2. The ethnological documents of Chinese literature contain a certain number of references to populations of short stature, Pygmies or Negritos which I have thought useful to collect together. The important position once occupied by the Negrito race in the Far East can be recognized by the numerous traces it has left of its former presence, whether in the form of broken tribes now more or less isolated, in a physiological influence still recognizable in the smallness of stature of the races which have taken their place, or in their languages, or lastly in their traditions and legends.

3. The data which the historical works of China furnish concerning them, cannot fail to have a certain importance for the study of this race, given the sure chronology of many of these sources of information. A rule observed as far as possible in this paper, and from which we ought never to depart when writing on Chinese matters, is that of referring only to the original and oldest sources, as the facts are always stated therein in their historical sequence. When dealing with ancient subjects, it is better to leave aside the compilations of late date and easy access which have deceived not a few of the ancient Sinologists and are responsible for much of the rubbish still current on Chinese matters. I have here in view the two well known huge encyclopedic works, the *Wen hien t'ung k'ao* or Antiquarian Researches of Ma Tuanlin, and the great histories like the *Tung kien kung muh* of Tchu-hi. There is in them such a lack of criticism, a neglect of important facts, a confusion of documents of various dates, and an absence of reference to authorities, that they do not answer to the requirements of modern research, and cannot be looked upon as safe sources of information.

4. Literary composition in China, so far as concerns history and ethnology has for long been a mere patchwork. The author or compiler

stitches up, or rather places in juxtaposition such passages taken from anterior works, as he fancies have a bearing on the subject ; and it is precisely in such selections and distractions from their illustrative surroundings and context, that these passages, in the eyes of European criticism suffer from the lack of critical spirit which characterises most of the Chinese writers. Statements of different dates and therefore of unequal value are mixed together, and assimilations of populations often made only on slight resemblances in name have mixed peoples and countries entirely alien one to another. And as is likewise more often the case, these compilers not being omniscient and therefore being unacquainted with many of the subjects they deal with in their works, some very curious blunders have occasionally happened. We have named already the two great works of Szem-a-Kwang (1080 A.D.) and Tchu-hi (1130-1200 A.D.) through the medium of P. de Moyriac de Mailla, and of Ma-Twan-lin (1250 ?—1325 A.D.) through that of De Guignes, Klaproth, Remusat and others, which are to a great extent accountable for the geographical, ethnological and historical misconceptions and errors which obtain in the Chinese materials among European writers.

5. Before trusting any Chinese writer we must make the criticism of his text, and endeavour to ascertain the sources of his information. The task is comparatively easy when certain documents anterior to his time are alone concerned : the most important for ethnological purposes are the special parts devoted to the subject in every one of the Dynastic Annals. These can be checked by one another successively ; but there were besides, many special works, some of which no longer exist even in China, or are not to be found in any of our great libraries in Europe. Recent experience has shown that with a comparative facility, an intricate ethnological question which had become a puzzle to the native compilers, could be cleared and elucidated by a simple reference to these sections of the Annals, chronologically arranged, since chronology forms one of their most valuable qualifications. But these sources themselves cannot be utilised without first subjecting them to the critical examination which we have described. Had their authors confined their statements to the information gained during the dynasty with which they were directly concerned, all would have been well. Such however was not always the case. They have thought that the value of the data at their disposal would be enhanced if they completed them, with a reproduction or a résumé of the information supplied by previous works, either of the same nature or of a special character, on the same subject : hence from their

unknowledge, perfectly admissible in some cases, and their incompetency or carelessness less pardonable in others, numerous errors have crept in the historical statements and have been repeated over and over again down to our time.

6. A striking instance of these remarks and criticisms will be seen in the Chinese notices concerning Ta Ts'in which the pencil of the historian and compilers have turned into a hopeless medley. Notices of the old Ta Ts'in of Shensi of the IVth century A.C. have been mixed up with informations concerning Pegu, South India (Dakshina) and West Asia which was also a right-hand side (Dakshina) country, for the Chinese backed to the North. The great work of Ma Tuanlin is full of blunders of that sort, if we judge the whole work from the numismatical and ethnographical sections which Dr. S. W. Bushell, Dr. E. Bretschneider and myself have examined.

7. Now before passing on to an examination of the scanty data at our disposal, rather disproportionate in their brevity to the great importance of the part played by the Negritos in the Far-East, there are two points which must not be forgotten. First, the small importance of the Chinese themselves, spread as they were at the beginning within an area limited to the basin of the Yellow river. Their growth was indeed very slow, and their acquaintance with the races outside of their dominion was acquired gradually and only in proportion to their own geographical extension. Therefore we may expect much of legend and romance in their earlier information based, as it was, on hearsay. Secondly, the ancient literature is a mere wreck. There was the great literary persecution of 213 A.C. and the following years, by the founder of the Empire, who wanted to destroy such of the hereditary literature as had escaped the havoc of ages, and several centuries of disturbances and civil wars. When the decree was repealed in 191 A.C., search was made for the old books, and many private scholars and amateurs made large collections of their own in various provinces, but the greater part of the books and fragments of works discovered were sent to the Imperial Museum which was destroyed by fire when the insurrection of Wang Mang was quelled in A.D. 23. There other bibliothecal catastrophes destroyed the successive Imperial collections until the beginning of the VIth century, and many important works in which valuable fragments of ancient records had been embodied were thus lost for ever. The later catastrophes were certainly less destructive than the first ones, although the actual number of books destroyed was much larger. But the older and more laborious

process of engraving the characters on bamboo bark, which had necessarily led to an extensive system of writing-sparing and suppression—i.e. curtailment or abridgment of characters—and limited the number of books, had been conveniently replaced. The hair pencil had been invented and a considerable impetus given to literature. The easier multiplication of copies of books increased their number. Editorial work on the ancient remains preserved in the Imperial and other collections, had been steadily going on since the literary revival of the second century A.C. Great losses of important works, such as that of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Shu-King, which had occurred in olden times could not take place again. But minor losses of other works still unedited and left uncopied, either because they were not clearly decipherable, or because their value was misunderstood, have certainly occurred in either one or the other of the five great bibliothecal catastrophes which have thus left only fragments of the ancient literature of the Chinese. All these remarks, based on historical facts, prevent us in a great measure from applying to this ancient Chinese literature the general principle of criticism, that notions and ideas quoted into a work may be looked upon as having not appeared but a little time before the most ancient work which contains them. Each case here must be carefully appreciated on its own merit and circumstantial evidence.

8. In my work on *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, being "Researches on the languages spoken by the Pre-Chinese races of China proper previously to the Chinese occupation," where nearly the whole of the linguistic information available in the matter has been summarised, leaving aside from want of space all the confirmatory evidence historic and ethnologic, I was led to recognise the existence in former times of various races on what is now Chinese soil. Chinese records in hand I have been able to sketch out the slow growth of the Chinese from the time of their small beginnings in the North West, as well as the gradual disappearance by absorption or retreat of the non-Chinese populations and of their two scores of states or political agglomerations mentioned in history, classified with the help of the historic and ethnologic data the remains. I have been able to collect materials of some fifty of their languages, which with allowance for doubtful cases, have proved to be representatives of the two great stocks of languages known as the Turano-Scythian and the Indo-Pacific. The Tibeto-Burmese and Kareng dialects of the Kuen-lunic branch represent the Turano-Scythian; while the Mon-Taie, Mon-Khmer, and Taie-Shan dialects of the Indo-Chinese branch, and Indonesian dialects of the Indo-Pacific branch, represent the Indo-Pacific. As the

existence of Negritos in China has not left any linguistic data that we know of and rests solely on historic evidence, their presence in Pre-Chinese China could only be alluded to with that of the other ethnolinguistic races.

NOTES—

- 6) I have given a short though detailed account of the advance of the Chinese and the gradual retreat of the pre-Chinese in §§ 137-208 in *The languages of China before the Chinese* ; (London, D. Nutt, 1887).
- 7) On this persecution cf. Rev. J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. I., introd. pp. 6-9; and G. Pauthier, *Mémoire sur l'Antiquité de l'histoire et de la civilisation Chinoise*, 1867, p. 1-140.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(To be continued).

SOME LETTERS TO AMENOPHIS III.

AMONG the letters to Amenophis III, from his Egyptian correspondents in Syria, are some which afford us information of events earlier than his reign. It must be borne in mind that after the great victory of Thothmes III at Mageddo, which established the supremacy of Egypt in Syria, there was constant intercourse between the lands of the Ruten, the Keta, and other nations, and the court of Egypt. After the defeat of the allies in the battle of Mageddo Thothmes appears to have appointed rulers in most states; and this policy seems to have been followed by his son and successor Thothmes IV. The first of these letters, of which I give a translation, relates to some of these appointments, and, though much mutilated, contains several statements of interest. From the inscription of the soldier Amenhotep in the British Museum, we know that Thothmes IV extended his conquests as far as the land of Naharain or Mittani, and that in this district he hunted lions; and it was during one of these expeditions that he entered into matrimonial alliance with the royal family of Mitanni by marrying the daughter of Artatama, grandfather of Dusratta. In one of the large tablets of the Mittani letters, the genealogy is thus given by Dusratta :

"Now Manakhbiya, the father of Nimmuriya, sent to Artama the father.".... then again we read: "An embassy from Nimmuriya thy father to Sutarna my father came."

From the scarab of Amenophis III., we can complete the series of royal weddings.

Manakhbiya (Thothmes III.) marries daughter of Artama.

Amenophis III. in 10th. year „ Kirkipa „ Sutarna.

„ „ later „ Tie „ „

Amenophis IV. marries Tadukhepa, daughter of Dusratta.

During one of these expeditions the king appointed rulers in the provinces through which he passed, and the first letter of Adad-nirari refers to these. It is difficult to say exactly what was the precise position Adad-nirari held. I was inclined with M. Halevy to think at first that he was king of Nukhase; but the use of such forms as *iskunus* "appointed him," and *ibbus* (*su*) "he proclaimed him," seems to me to indicate that he is rather writing of events in the countries around him, where there is trouble, requiring the sending of Egyptian troops. Indeed I am more confirmed in this idea by the apparent occurrence of proper names, where in line 7. I think the inexplicable word *Kiaribi* is a proper name, as is clearly the mutilated word in the first line of the reverse Takuana, which may perhaps be completed *Takuanas*. It will be noticed that both the correspondent of the king, Adad-nirari and Zidatan, write in a very familiar manner, different from the usual servile style, and both address their master "as father" claiming to be "sons of the king." This title of "son of the king" is a very ancient one being found in the maxims of Ptahhotep, and was as M. Virey has remarked, rather to be regarded as honorary. Judging however from the mutilated portion of line 6, the office held by Adad-nirari or the person referred to was one to which he was instituted by anointing with oil: "*samni ana kakkaudu-su* being possible only of explanation as "anointing his head with oil." So that there may have been some connection collaterally with the royal house. The letter of Zidatan is of the usual style, but shows that embassies were constantly passing between the land of the Hittites and the court of Egypt. It will be observed that the offering to the king consisted of sixteen young men as a present and peace-offering. In the letter there is one interesting reference to the Hittites, which may not be accidental. In line 15th the texts reads: *Mat ali Kha-at-ti*, "the land of the city of the Hittites." May not this be Kadesh? In this letter, however, by

far the greatest interest is found in the grammatical forms which I explain elsewhere.

LETTER OF ADAD-NIRARI TO AMENOPHIS III.

Obverse.

- 1 *Ana Samsi šar beli ya šar mat Mišri*
- 2 *Umma Adad-nirari abduka.*
- 3 *Ana sepi beli ya amkut*
- 4 *Enura Manākh bili ya sar mat Mišri abiya*
- 5 *ri..... ya ina mat Nukhase.*
- 6 *ana šarruti ibbu (su-u) ina-su u sam ni ana kakkadu su*
- 7 *is-kun su u Kiaribi sa šar mat.....*
- 8 *ana šarruti sa ibbu (su)*
- 9 *ša is kunsu mivma (an)*
- 10 *ittadinsu*
- 11 *anām*

Reverse.

- 1 *¶ Takuana.....*
- 2 *u ina anna*
- 3 *u šar mat Khatte ana eli.....*
- 4 *bil DUP-PA-TE mes u rik(s̄)*
- 5 *u ana sa sarri mat Mišri*
- 6 *u ina anna beliniya ana eli*
- 7 *u ana žati*
- 8 *ana sa beli ni (yu).*
- 9 *ana (sarri) beli ya ina satti lišširu.*
- 10 *lu la te meik ekimu ana ardutti*
- 11 *ana su beli ya tu kittum tatassukur*
- 12 *u summa beli ya ana asim la kaman*
- 13 *u beli ya ana bel (nis) miliga su*
- 14 *masdu šabi u mašdu narkatte su lispur.*

TRANSLATION.

Obverse.

- 1 To the Sungod the king my lord the King of Egypt
- 2 Thus Adad Nirari thy servant speaks;
- 3 To the feet of the King my lord I bow myself.
- 4 When Manakhbiya (Thothmes III), King of Egypt my father.
- 5ri.....ya in the land of Nukhase
- 6 to royalty proclaimed him....., and oil on his head
- 7 placed, and Kiaribi who is King of the land.....
- 8 To that royalty he proclaimed

9 and appointed him. Whatsoever (he desired)

10 He gave him.....

11 Now.....

Reverse.

1 Takuana.....

2 and when

3 and the king of the land of the Hittites against (them)

4 and the messengers, and servants.....

5 and to the king of Egypt

6 and when to my lord to his presence

7 and to the hands

8to that of the king my lord.

9 For the king my lord for one? year they guardep

10 and there was not taken spoil for thy? servants

11 for which my lord the fighting ordered.

12 and when my lord to.....

13 and my lord to his counsellors

14 Numbers of soldiers and numbers of chariots may be send.

LETTER OF ZIDATAN.

1 *Ana beli ya šar mat Mišri*

2 *Abi-ya Kibe-ma*

3 *Umma ¶ Zi-da-tan abil šarri*

4 *Abil k̄ma.*

5 *Ana magir beli abi-ya*

6 *gabalā šulmu*

7 *ina makhri kharran aiutum?*

8 *(nis) sipri ka ana mat Khatti*

9 *it talku u ʃimie ana mukhkhi ka*

10 *ittaskharu u anaku-ma*

11 *ana ahkā sa abi-ya*

12 *sulu mana aspur u subilta*

mukhkhi ka ultebi.

13 *anum-ma sipri ka*

14 *(istu) Ahi khatti ana mukhkhi ka*

15 *ana sunuti anaku-ma*

16 *ittu sipri ka attua sipri-ya*

17 *ana mukhkhi abi ya aspur sunuti*

18 *u subilta XVI. abli*

19 *ana sulmani ka ultebilikkū*

20 *u anaknu khurazu khaškhašku*

21 *u abu niya khura ſi subila*

22 *u minūmī bili abi ya*

23 *khāskhata ūpraku u khopalakku.*

Translation.

- 1 To my lord the king of Egypt
- 2 my father speaks.
- 3 thus, Zidatan the son of the king
- 4 even thy son
- 5 For the favour of the king my lord my father
- 6 in all (things) may there be peace
- 7 In a former journey now
- 8 they ambassadors to the land of the Hittites
- 9 went, And with news to thy presence
- 10 they are returning: and I myself
- 11 to the majesty of my father
- 12 a peace offering and a present
to thy presence cause to be brought
- 13 Now thy messengers
- 14 from the city of the Hittites to thy presence.
- 15 and with them I also.....

NOTES—

Line LETTER OF ADAD-NIRARI.

4. This name *Manak bi ya* is a transcription of the hieroglyphic cartouche  *Men-Kepher-ra* the pronomen of Thotmes IV., whose second name was Khakau.
5. The land of Nukhase was situated south west of Aleppo in the neighbourhood of Tunip or modern Tennib.
6. I read *ina-su* here, for the groups do not seem to admit of any other explanation: the meaning would be the 'he raised' from *našu*.
7. *Samnu*, 'oil,' here written            *Samnu* is the Hebrew,  and is often found in the dedications, as in Nabonidus inscription, W.A.I. v. 64, II. 5. *Ina kurunni ūmni dispi ūalluršu ankaazma.* 'wine, oil, and honey its platform I anointed.'

Rev. l. 4. The word *Dup-pa-te-mes* seems to be composed of *Dup*, 'tablet' and *Te*, 'to carry.'

10. *temeik* and *ekimu* seem to come from  'spoil'.

11. I am inclined to read *di-kit-tum* here instead of *tukittum*, and compare the Babylonian Chronicle inscription, Col. IV. 25. *Tatasukar=tatan-sukur*, the Iftanaal, permansive 2nd of *sakar*, 'to command: compare the use of this word in the Deluge Tablet in the long misread passage, *izzakir ūkru inlilati* 'was declared the command in the evening.' (Col. IV. line 47.)

14. *Masdu*, a word of frequent occurrence in these tablets with some such meaning.

LETTER OF ZIDATAN.

9. *Italku*, 3rd Plural Aorist Iftal of *alaku*.

10. *Ittaskaru*, 3rd Plural Aorist of *Sakhuru*, 'to return;' compare Cyrus cylinder I. 11. *U nisi ūmri Akkadi ūmū salamtao usakhir*, 'and the

men of Sumir and Akkad who spoke peacefully he restored.' Root סָהָר.

11. *Akka*, perhaps the Akkadian *Agga*, 'power greatness.'
12. *Šulmana*, 'peace offering' the Hebrew סְלֵמָה, and *Šubiltu*, Shafel derivative from *abalu*, 'to bring that which is carried,' Root בְּלֵל *ultebi* = *usiebi*.
20. *Khaškhaku*, 1st Sing. permansive Kal of *khašaku* פְּשַׁחַת 'to desire,' 'to need.' *Khaš kha ta* in ins. 25 is 2nd pers. sing. of same form.
21. *subila*, Imperative Shafel of *abalu*.
22. *Minūmī* = 'whastsoever,' Assyrian, *mannūma*.
23. *supraku*, 'I am sending,' permansive of *saparū*.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

THE TABLET INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHINESE JEWS
DISCOVERED AT KAI-FUNG FU (CHINA) IN 1850.

(Continued from p. 141).

The Inscription of 1511.

The record of the Temple² erected in honour of *Eternal Reason*
and the Sacred Writings. (cont.)

There are others again, who in private stations cultivate personal virtue, and diffuse their influence over a whole region.¹ Others there are who plough the waste lands,² sustaining their share of the public burdens,³ and others who attend to mechanical arts,⁴ doing their part towards supporting the state, or who follow mercantile pursuits and thus

- 1) This is a mere laudatory reference to the high moral character and piety of the Jews in China.
- 2) These Jews found the fertile place and valley of the Yellow River a favorable region for engaging in agriculture.
- 3) The principal part of the imperial revenue comes from agriculture, a tax proportioned to the yield being imposed on every landed proprietor.
- 4) We have no details concerning these pursuits.

gather in profits from every quarter;¹ but all of them should venerate the command of heaven, obey the royal laws, attend to the five constant virtues,² observe the duties of the human relations,³ reverently follow the customs of their ancestors, be filial towards their parents, respectful to their superiors, harmonious among their neighbors, and friendly with their associates, teaching their children and descendants, thns laying up a store of good works, while they repress trifling animosities in order to complete *great* affairs. The main idea of all the prohibitions and commands,⁴ consists in attending to these things.

This, in fact, is the great object set forth in the Sacred Writings, and⁵ the daily and constant duties inculcated by *Eternal Reason*. Thus the command of Heaven, influencing virtuous nature,⁶ is by this means carried out to perfection—the religion which inculcates obedience to *Eternal Reason* is by this means entered upon, and the virtues of benevolence, rectitude, propriety, and wisdom, are by this means maintained. Those however, who attempt to represent Him⁷ by images, or to depict Him in pictures, do but vainly occupy themselves with empty ceremonies, alarming and stupifying men's eyes and ears, indulging in the speculations of false religionists, and showing themselves unworthy of imitation.⁸ But those who honor and obey the Sacred Writings know the origin of

1) The Jews, aided by the great water-ways and the great canals of China, grew opulent as local traders. Indeed, they probably carried on a considerable commerce with the outer world, by sea and land, Ning-po, a great sea-port, having been the principal centre of Jewish maritime commerce. Their MSS. and inscriptions all show a constant contact with Persia and Western Asia.

2) i.e. *Gravity, generosity, sincerity, earnestness, and kindness.* (*Chinese Classics.* Legge. *Confucius*, Book 17-6.)

3) These were Five in number, as given in the first part of this tablet i.e. between

Ruler and Subject,
 Parents and Children,
 Elder and Younger brothers,
 Husbands and Wives,
 Friends and Companions.

These are the “*Five human relations*” of the Chinese moralists.

4) i.e. The commands and prohibitions of both the Jewish and Chinese writings.

5) “*And*” should be followed, presumably, by the preposition “*in*,” if sense be looked for in this clause.

6) i.e. influencing those who possess from birth a naturally virtuous and religious mind.

7) Here we see “*Eternal Reason*” raised to divine *Personality*.

8) This whole clause is aimed against the idolatry that surrounded the

all things, and that *Eternal Reason* and the Sacred Writings mutually sustain each other in stating from whence men sprung.¹

From the beginning of the world our first father *Atan*² handed the doctrine down to *A-woó-ló-hán*³; *A-woó-lo-han* handed it down to *E-sze-ho-kih*⁴; *E-sze-ho-kih* handed it down to *Ya-ho-Keue-wuh*⁵; *Ya-ho-Keue-wuh* handed it down to the twelve patriarchs, and the twelve patriarchs handed it down to *May-she*⁶; *May-she* handed it down to *A-ho-léen*,⁷ *A-ho-léen* handed it down to *Yue-suh-wo*, and *Yue-suh-wo*⁸ handed it down to *Ye-tsze-la*,⁹ by whom the doctrines of the holy religion were first sent abroad, and the letters of the *Yew-t-hae*,¹⁰ country first made plain.¹¹ All those who profess this religion aim at the practise of goodness, and avoid the commission of vice, morning and evening performing their devotions,¹² and with a sincere mind cultivating personal virtues. They practice fasting and abstinence on the prescribed days,¹³ and bring eating and drinking under proper regulations. They make the Sacred Writings their study and their rule,¹⁴ obeying and believing them in every particular; then may they expect that the blessing of Heaven will abundantly descend, and the favor of Providence be un-

Chinese Jews, and which, to this period (1511), they had resisted for a thousand years.

1) Against all the allurements of heathenism, and against the sophistry of the Chinese philosophers, the faithful Jew points to the Hebrew Scriptures as the safe guide for men.

2) Adam. 6) Moses.

3) Abraham. 7) Aaron. } Phonetic adaptations.

4) Isaac. 8) Joshua. }

5) Jacob. 9) Ezra.

10) The translation of this last clause in the Shang-hae pamphlet is somewhat different from the above, which is my own, and which brings in all the Chinese characters. The Shang. pamphlet reads thus: of the *Yew-t'ae*, "Jewish nation," which is harsh and crude.

"*Yew-t'ae*" is the phonetic rendering of *Ju-dah*. It is one of a very few instances that indicate a recollection, on the part of these Jews, of the land of Judah, (*Palestine*).

11) Cf. Neh. viii. 8, viii. 12-18.

12) The Ancien Jews prayed regularly three times a day, and the other tablet speaks of the Chinese Jews doing the same.

The above "morning" and "evening" thus means, in reality, *morning*, *noon* and *evening*.

13) Whether this refers to much more than the ordinary *fasting* of Western Orthodox Jews or not, is hard to decide upon—probably it does not. But see tablet of 1488.

14) Under the Rabbins the study of the Scriptures, in the Rabbinical

failingly conferred, every individual obtaining the credit of virtuous conduct, and every family experiencing the happiness of divine protection¹. In this way, perhaps, our professors will not fail of carrying out the religion handed down by their ancestors, nor will they neglect the ceremonies which they are bound to observe.² We have engraved this on a tablet³, placed in the Synagogue⁴, to be handed down to distant ages, that future generations may carefully consider it.⁵

This tablet was erected by the families *Yen, Leē, Kaou, Chaou, Kin, E* and *Chang*⁶, at the rebuilding of the Synagogue, in the first month of Autumn, in the seventh year of *Ching-Tih*,⁷ of the *Ming* dynasty.⁸

Schools, became a regular part, in fact, the *principal* part, of the curriculum. This was an established fact before the Christ. era. It was a *literal* realization of the numerous Old Test. injunctions to carry the Law of the Lord in the heart at all times.

- 1) They who live after the divine plan, as recorded and revealed in the Scriptures, will never fail to enjoy the blessing of God.
- 2) *i.e.* by observing the mandates, and living by the Spirit, of the O.T. and "believing them in every particular," the *ceremonies*, the *external proofs* of religious devotion, will thus be carried out faithfully, and according to the *ceremonial law*.
- 3) The tablets were in *out-house*, or *side booths*, within the temple enclosure. In 1850 the door-ways were completely clogged with accumulated *dirt* and *rubbish*, and the agents of the "London Miss. Soc." could copy the inscriptions only by making a hole in the wall, and transcribing in the light of a candle.
- 4) *Temple.*
- 5) These tablets were not read and translated by any Western Scholar until 1850, (when they were discovered), the *Shang-hae pamphlet* containing the translations by Rev. Dr. Medhurst having appeared in 1851.
- 6) These were all distinguished and faithful Jews, the families of *Chaou, Kaou*, and *Yen* especially having been prominent for several centuries.
- 7) *i.e.* 1511.
- 8) *i.e.* from 1368 to 1640 A.D. It was the golden age of Judaism in China.

A. K. GLOVER.

(*To be continued*).

THE PU YAO KING :

A FRAGMENT OF THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA.

(Translated by the late Prof. Dr. S. Beal.)

(Continued from p. 168).

Now there was a certain village called Sin-she-man-ka (Sujamanka?) in which dwelt a certain nobleman's wife who was in the habit of feeding every day 800 Brahmacharis ; she was aware of the painful discipline which Bodhisatwa was enduring and had constantly prayed (vowed) that she might be able to make him, the great saint, some religious offering. Now it so happened that on the very evening when Bodhisatwa took his seat beneath the tree that then this nobleman's wife was first married to her husband : on which occasion she made a vow that if she became the mother of a male child that she would make an offering of sweet and savoury food to the spirits of the Mountains and the Trees (or, to the Spirit of the Mountain tree). Now then the nobleman's wife having borne a son, she was filled with joy, and having milked a 1000 cows and fed them in turns on the milk taken from the others, she at last took the milk of the one who had been fed on that of all the others and with this prepared an offering for the Tree Spirit. And now she sent her female slave to go to the place and sweep round the tree. On arrival the girl saw Buddha sitting there, and not knowing what spiritual being it was, she came back to her mistress having first swept the place and told her that there was a very wonderful Spiritual Being, of great beauty, seated beneath the tree, and certainly not belonging to the present world. Then the lady having heard this report was filled with joy and desiring to take some rice gruel (as an offering) went to the place where it was preparing, and after stirring it round desired to take out of the vessel about as much as would measure a "chang" in height—but found she was not able to do so, on which she was filled with astonishment. Then the chief of the Brahmacharis seeing the circumstance addressed the lady and said : "This rice milk is not such as any mere worldly philosopher should take, but only one about to become a Buddha should eat such food as this and digest it." And then the Devas dwelling in space began to sing the following verses : "To-day you desire, O Lady, to effect a great sacrificial offering ! There is a great Bodhisatwa, lost in calm

meditation, who has accomplished the severe six years fast, and now rising from his seat; and now you may fulfil your vow by giving him before any other can do so, some food ere he arrives at the condition of Supreme Intelligence on which he is bent—forget not then your vow, but hasten to offer him your sacrifice.” Then the lady having heard the words of the angels immediately took some milk and gruel and filling a golden basin with it, and taking in her hand a “Pin-K'ien,”¹ accompanied by the 800 Brahmacharis she went to the side of the Nairanyana River (where Bodhisatwa had been dwelling).

Buddha addressed the Bhikshus and said : “ Bodhisatwa knowing the circumstances of the case, immediately by his spiritual power and the force of his wisdom, returned to the banks of the river, and being arrived there entered the river according to the common custom to wash himself therein. Then 80,000 Devas each holding out a branch of tree to assist Bodhisatwa, he by this means came from the River and stood upon the side of it, his body lightsome and perfectly pure; then as Bodhisatwa advanced a Devaputra belonging to the Tusita Heaven, called Vimalaprabha (li-hu-kwong) taking a heavenly Kasaya garment and also a Sanghah, transformed himself into a Shaman and advanced to offer these vestments to Bodhisatwa. Then Bodhisatwa having accepted them and clad himself therewith, stood still in perfect silence. At this time the female consort of the Nâgas of the Nairanyana river caused a very beautiful couch to appear from the ground as an offering for Bodhisatwa, on which he forthwith sat down. And now the wife of the village lord of Sujamâṅka accompanied by all the Brahmacharis with the offering of rice milk, came to the place where Bodhisatwa was, and after paying homage at his feet, circumambulated him by the right three times, and then pouring some water from the Pien-kin (Kundikâ) or the hand of Bodhisatwa, they offered him the rice milk as a religious sacrifice; then from a principle of compassion he accepted the gift of food, and after having partaken of it his strength came again, though his heart changed not. Then taking the golden vessel in which the food was, he threw it into the River at his feet. Immediately he had done so, a thousand Nâgas seying it took it away and offered the vessel (Pâtra) religious worship; but eventually the female Nâga who had offered the seat to Bodhisatwa obtaining the Patra, ordained a religious service in its honor, and with sedulous attention paid reverence to it. Then countless millions of Devas, taking perfumed water and scented words, did worship also, wishing to honor the Patra of Bodhisatwa, and so did each one of them in his own

private abode do homage to it. Then moreover the wife of the village Lord, and the others, having obtained some of the hair and nail parings of Bodhisatwa, raised over these 'a Pagoda (tower) and worshipped thereat.

Buddha further addressed the Bhikshas and said : " Bodhisatwa having partaken of this rice milk, his body by the force of the completed vow which the lady had made, forthwith recovered its beauty and grace. The splendour which it reflected was like that of the Sun and Moon, and so it is the laudatory verses say :

" At this time the world honor'd one persevering in his purpose
 With earnest heart bethought himself thus :
 Now by the power of spiritual perception and wisdom
 (I perceive I ought to) go and sit down beneath the Royal Tree
 To perfect Supreme and Universal Wisdom, &c.

(*To be continued*).

SOME LYCIAN SUFFIXES.

In the study of Lycian, the three bilingual inscriptions known as Limyra 19, Antiphellus 3, and Lewisu, are of first-rate importance: and as they will be referred to again and again in the course of my argument, it is as well to give them in full before going any further. For the sake of clearness, the Greek is here written interlined with the Lycian, though in the original it follows it in every case.

Limyra 19. (Reisen im Sudwestlichen Klein-Asien, vol. 2, no. 124)

1. ābāiya: āravaziya : māti
 $\tau\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\tau\acute{o}\mu\nu\gamma\mu\alpha$ (in the original $\tau\acute{o}\mu\nu\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\acute{o}\delta\epsilon$)
2. prn $\bar{\eta}$ navatō: Sidariya : Pā ...
 $\acute{e}[\pi]oi\acute{y}\sigma\alpha\tau\acute{o}\Sigma\acute{e}[\delta]\acute{a}\rho\iota\sigma\acute{\Pi}\acute{a}[\rho\mu\acute{e}\nu\acute{o}]$
3. nā: tidāimi hrppi ātli āhbi s[ā]
 $\nu\tau\acute{o}s\acute{v}\iota\acute{o}s\acute{e}av\tau\acute{\bar{\eta}}\acute{k}\acute{a}\acute{i}$
4. ladi : āhbi : sātidāimi P[ubig]

τῆ γυναικὶ κεὶ νιῷ Πνβία
5. λαγά
λη

Antiphellus 3, (Reisen, Vol. II, No. 122, Spratt and Forbes, No. 3, Sävelsberg 2, p. 150).

ābōnnō pr̄nōvū: māti pr̄nāvātō
τοντὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἡργάσατο
Ix̄ta: Hlah: tidāimi: hr̄ppi ladi : āb̄i
'Ik̄tas Δa 'Αντιφελλίτης αὐτῷ τε καὶ γυναικὶ¹
sā tidāimā: āb̄iyā: sāiyātiādū: tikā: mōtō
καὶ τέκνοις ἐν τις ἀδικήσῃ 'η ἀγοράσῃ τέ μνῆμα
mānā qasttu:¹ ēni: qlahi: ābiyāhi: sā vādri : vāhūtāzi
ἢ Δητὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέψ[ει].

In this inscription I have altered the order of the Greek words to fit the Lycian. In the original they run as follows:—

'Ik̄tas Δa 'Αντιφελλίτης τοντὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἡργάσατο

Lewisu (Reisen, II. 6, Spratt and Forbes, no. 2.

1. ābōnnō ȝtato mānā pr̄nāvotō Pulānida Mulli[h]āsāh sā Dapara
Pulānidah Puri
τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα ἐργάσαντο 'Απολλωνίδης Μολλίσιος καὶ [Δ]απάρας
'Απολλ[ω]νίδης.
2. himiātāhā pr̄nāzīyāhi hr̄ppi lada ap̄tāhā sā tidāimā sāiyātisārita
Πυριαύτιος οικεῖοι ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξῖν ταῖς ἑαντῶν [κα]ὶ τοῖς[ε] ἐγγόνοις καὶ
ἄν τις ἀδικήσῃ
3. di tikā ȝtāt[ə] ābāhi: māiyā [tub]āti punamaththi: aladahali: ada: Δ
τὸ μνῆμα τοῦτο ἐξώλεα καὶ πανώλεα ἐη ἀτ ὦ πάντῶν.

In the word Pulānida, the Greek iota is used instead of the Lycian i.

It is important to remark that in neither of the last two inscriptions do the two versions correspond throughout. In Ant. 3 from *εαν* δέ τις, and in Lewisu from *εξώλεα* onwards, the Greek is not a translation of the Lycian.

I.

ābōnnō, τοῦτο, is formed from ābā, (the same word which appears as ābāya, τοῦτο, in Lim. 19) with the suffix -n̄. ābā also means 'this'; what then is the force of the suffix? In this case it is merely adjectival, joined on to ābā without altering the meaning, but in other words it is found with a possessive sense; for instance the word vādri, as I shall shew, means 'a state,' πόλις, and with the suffix ȝn̄ it becomes vādrōnni or belonging to the state, as mali vādrōnni, an elder of the state, Rhod.1).

These derivatives in -nn̄- are generally 'declinable,' and 'agree' with the word which they qualify; thus ȝbōnn-ō in Lewisu agrees with ȝtato,

and other examples are found in maliyahi vādrōnnāhi, of the elders of the state, Rhod. 1, and in qlahi ābiyāhi p̄trāgnāhi, Myra [10] Reisen II. 43.

On the other hand they are sometimes 'indeclinable,' as in ābō̄nī p̄nnavo Pinara [5] R I. 22, for ābō̄nō; in maliya (dat. plur.) vadroni, Rhod. [2] R II. 172, for vādrō̄ nā; and qlahi ābiyāhi p̄trāgnī, L 5, for p̄trāgnāhi. It is worth noticing that such a word as vadroni, of the state, when it is not declined is hardly distinguishable from a genitive case.

II. -hi, -hā, -h.

These rather puzzling suffixes have been very fully discussed by Professor Deecke, Bezzenger's Beiträge, vol. 12, and his conclusion is that -hi and -hā are the sign of the genitive singular, and -hi (which he writes as -he) of the genitive plural. Learned and ingenious as his arguments are, I cannot accept his conclusions, because they seem to be contradicted by the bilingual inscriptions, which are the beginning and end of our certain knowledge. They contain two words in -hā, of which one is āptāhā, ēav-ānāv; and two translated words in -hi, ābāhi, τοῦτο, and p̄nāzīyāhi, which as I shall shew means 'of the household.' Being convinced that in dealing with the bilinguals, we must accept the facts as we find them, I offer another explanation, in support of which it will be necessary to examine all the intelligible words in -hi and -hā, which occur in the known inscriptions, though I shall confine myself at present to those of which we have a Greek translation. The simplest of these is

1. ābāhi.

In Lewisu 1. 3. ȝtat [a] ābāhi is rendered by τὸ μνῆμα τοῦτο. ābāhi is therefore equivalent in meaning to ābō̄nō, and is similarly used to begin an inscription in Limyra 8:

ābāhi :χupā mātisīyōni :Sbiqaza² &c.
this tomb (bought?) Spigasa

It seems however not to be an accusative, for it is always combined with substantives in -a, of which the regular accusative would end in -o or -u. This case in -a is always used after certain verbs, such as āsāritad and sīyōni.

The true accusative of ābāhi, corresponding exactly to ābō̄nō is ābāhō or ābāhc, of which the former occurs in Rhod. 1, and the latter on the stele, S. 13.

Now since ābāhi is identical in meaning with ābō̄nō, and in both words a suffix is added to ābā without altering the sense, it is probable that these suffixes have very much the same force. We may set down -hi provisionally as a declinable adjectival suffix.

2. äpttähi, äpttähä.

In line 2 of Lewisu, hrppi lada äpttäha, is translated *ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν.* äpttähä therefore means 'their.' The same word is found in Lim. 23, as äpttä and äpttähi.

äbōgnō χupo mäti prñavatō ärm[m]änöni : s
ä lada : äbhi hrppi atta äpttä sā prñnäzi äpttähi

This tomb built ärm[m]änöni and his wife for themselves and their household.

A comparison with ätli äbhi 'his self' (*ἑαυτῷ*), in the bilingual of Lymra 19, shews that äpttä as well as äpttähi means their, and this is conclusively proved by the following inscription from Xanthus (Reisen II. no. 11).

äb nnö : χupo möti [i]yä—
q[.]arñnaχa : pssuräh : tidäi
mî : sâ tidäimi padrñmähä
χudivazadâ : äpänöti b[ä]ttä
[padrñ]ma

This tomb—[q]arñnaχa, son of Pssuräh, and the son of Padrñma Khudivazadâ for their father \hat{r} (Padrñma?) In l. 4 äpänätitbttä stands for äpänöti äbttä or (if a letter is wanting) äbättä. The cutting off of the first vowel is common in Lycian, and the identity of äbttä with äpttä appears from Lim. 9, line 1.

äbäli: niötisiyöni : tâlâ : sâ lada : sâ tidäimi ähbî : sladoi äbttähi,
this bought(?) Tâlâ and wife and his five sons for their—

In this same inscription äbttä also occurs, but not in intelligible context.

Since therefore äpttä or äbttä by itself means 'their,' äpttähi must stand in the same relation to it as äbäli to äbä; and like äbäli it is declinable. For in hrppi prñnäzi äpttähi, we have the dative singular, as in hrppi tidäni äbhi; and in hrppi lada äpttähä we have the dative plural, as in hrppi ätidäimâ ahbiyâ.

Sladoi äpttähi is probably Dative Singular like mohoi mintähi,³ for the numeral 5 must be taken with tidäimi, not with sladoi: the inscriptions always have 'ada 5,' &c., never '5 ada.'

In äpttähi, therefore, as in äbäli -hi is a declinable adjectival suffix resembling the -n of äbognö.³

In Lewisu l. 2 Puribimatahâ prñnäziyâhi is rendered 'Πυριμάτιος οἰκεῖοι.' If the Lycian word is faithfully represented by the Greek it must be an adjective meaning of or belonging to the house or household, and the word prñnäzi from which it is formed must be *oîkos* in the sense of household. It has been usual to take prñnäzi as meaning 'slave,' 'retainer,' etc., but an examination of other passages where the word occurs will, I think, show that household is a better rendering, if not

the only possible one.

Setting aside *prñnäziyähi* for the moment, *prñnäzi* occurs 7 times, but never in apposition with a proper name, and never in the plural. This fact by itself would lead one to conjecture that it means something of which people only had one, which is true generally of a household, but not of a slave or retainer.

But the inscription of Xanthus 8, on a very large and richly sculptured tomb now in the British Museum shows that the old rendering is impossible.

ābōñnō : prñnavo : möti prñnavatō : mārāhi &c.

hrppi[:] prñnäzi : önō xñtavata : xār[i]gāhā.

This tomb built Mārāhi—for his household.

He was a captain (4 of Karikas.⁵

This gives good sense: now let us try the old translation, slave or retainer.

This tomb built Mārāhi—for his slave (retainer).

He was a captain⁴ of Karikas.

If the last clause refers to the 'retainer,' it is most strange that his social position should be recorded but not his name. If it refers to Mārāhi, we are asked to believe that he built a peculiarly large and elaborate tomb for a person whose name he omits to record and to whose identity he gives no clue whatever. And while leaving out this necessary information, he puts in some irrelevant facts about his own career. The very object of an epitaph is to record the name of the dead, and it is incredible that the Lycians inscribed their tombs with the history of people who were not buried there and left out even the name of the person who was.

If we take the rendering 'household,' these difficulties vanish: Mārāhi of course meant to be buried in his own family-tomb.

Compare also Pinara 2.

ābōñnō prñnavo : möti prñnavatō: ddarssñma : padrmimah tid[āimi
hrppi prñnäzi : āhbi : urābillaha : trñmisñ xñtā[v]ātā tār[ñ sā
arttūmpara

Ddarssñma built this tomb for his household. He was captain in the Telmessian army for Urābillaha and Artembares. I do not insist on this translation, nor is it at all proved that Urābillaha is a proper name. But if it is, it must (for reasons I have given in full before⁶) be separated from the words which precede and joined with those that follow.

Cadyanda. Upaziyōnā : prñnavatā
hrppai : prñnäzi : āhbi
sāyā : tātātō &c.

Upariyona built (this) for his household.. He who buries here (must pay) &c:

Limyra 23, already quoted:

ärmmänöni and his wife built this tomb,
hrppi atla äpttä sā p̄gnäzi äpttähi
for themselves and their household.

Xanthus l. l.

sā piyātō : hrzzi : nta[t]o : ladi : ābhi . sā mn̄ācāñidāhā
āsādō ,nāir) sā piyātō ötri : n̄tato : pruñāzi
atlahi.

It is not likely that a single nameless 'slave' had the lower tomb all to himself.

Rhod. a. 3. mā pibiyāti

pryñäzi sätäri adaiyö mäinä ñtavoto
pibiyäti tärä äbähc mäiyänä : hrppitoti
tikä : ivamaravä : tilä ladi äbhi.

Here as in the last case and in several others there seem to have been an upper and a lower grave, one for the builder Iyamara and his wife, and the other for his *prynäzi*; and as in Xanthus 1 a different fine was fixed for the violation of each. But though the general sense is fairly clear, the exact translation is a matter of conjecture. It seems to mean,

Let him (pay ?) 2 (?) (of) that (i.e. twice as much), who shall put (another body) over Iyamara or his wife.

Stele East. 56, tubähi prynäzi sä lihbäzä ühbiyä. This passage is not yet intelligible. It is only necessary to remark that tubähi is not a proper name but is derived from tubä E. 19, and is evidently connected with tubidi and tubäiti, 'pay.'

There remain to be mentioned the other inscriptions (besides Lewisu) where the derivative *prūnūzīvībī* occurs.

Rhodiapolis (2) Reisen II, 172.

Rhodolapah (2) Reisen II
ābāhi māsiyoni : χ ssöñziya
äntlapah : tid imi : mutlāh
prünäziyāhi : prünavat ti
ntato : atli : $\ddot{\text{a}}$ hbi, &c.

(This bought?) *χssünziya* the son of *intlapa* of the household of *Mutlä*. He built the grave for himself, etc.

Telmessus 1.	āb̄-iŋč xup(o) mānā pr̄nā[v]atō χudali zutriyah tidāmi h χāzrimāh pr̄nā]āziv̄shi
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The *h* at the end of l. 3 does not belong to *tidimi*, for the ending *-ih* is unknown in Lycian. It is probably the first letter of the succeeding a proper name, (*hriχazzimā*, like *hrχymma*, Myra 5 and 6, *hriχttbili*, Tlos 1, and *hrχono* (Reisen II 44 and note). The translation therefore is 'This tomb built *χudali*, the son of *Zutriya*, of the household of *hriχazzima*'.

Limyra, 18.....*h*läti pr^ünavat[ä] piχymah
 tidäimi *χ*äliyona_χssah pr^ünäziy[ähi]
 ——*ix*läti son of *Piχyma* of the household of
*χ*äliyona_χssa built (this).

L. 15 & 25 should perhaps be restored:

äböñö:χup[o] : möti pr^ünavatö : urssym[a] ikäzi [yäb]
 pr[^ünähi]zi[yäb]ji
 ddava[d]omah : tuhäs : hrppi ladi : äbähi [sä] tuhäs
 Urssymma of the household of 1käzi. Compare Ddarssymma.

This completes the list of passages where *pr^ünäzi* and *pr^ünäziyähi* occur. It will probably be admitted that household gives the best sense in all of them. *Pr^ünäziyähi* therefore means of-the-household. Now *hi* in *äbähi* was shown to be an adjectival suffix, and it seems to me that *pr^ünäziyähi* of the household stands in exactly the same relation to *äbähi* this, as *vädröni* of the state to *äböñö* this. Moreover it is translated by the Greek adjective *oikeion*. It is probable therefore that it is itself an adjective, possibly in the nominative plural, as *tidaimi* 5 seems to be in Lim. 9, already quoted, but more likely not declined and therefore to be compared with *maliya vädrö yni* in Rhod. (2).

There are no more forms in *-hi* translated in the bilinguals, but a word still remains whose meaning is known from one of them, and whose derivative in *-hi* is found elsewhere. This is *atli* or *ätli* : *hrppi ätli* *äbähi* Lim. 19 = *εαυτῷ*. The words *pr^ünäzi atlahi*, for his-own household (Xanthus 1) have been already quoted. In Sura l. 4, *atlahi* occurs again in an unintelligible context, but in Limyra 4 the meaning is clear enough.

Kbi tika [t]inqtäpitadi atlahi tibä Kbiyähi if another shall bury (any-one) belonging-to-himself or belonging-to-another.

Here it is almost unavoidable to take *atlahi* and *Kbiyähi* as possessive adjectives : and this view is I think proved to be correct in the case of *atlahi* by the occurrence of the dative plural (?) *atlähä* on the Xanthian stele s 18, and in the case of *Kbiyähi* by the accusative (plural ?) *Kbiyähis*, Xanthus 4, and by *Kbiyähadi* (Decree of *Pixedarus*).

Here the information derived from the bilingual inscriptions ceases, for the words *oni glahi abiyahi* in Ant have no Greek translation.

It only remains to notice the termination-h which is found in *Hlah*, *Mullihäsäh*, and *Pulänidah*, and -ha which is found in *Purihimätäha*.

-h is extremely common, but is absolutely confined to proper names. No common noun is known to end in -h. -hä is apparently used in the same way, for out of 27 words in which it appears as a distinct suffix 19 are certainly and 21 almost certainly proper names. The remainder are unintelligible words, which may be proper names too, except *äpttähä* and *atlahä*, already explained as datives plural of adjectives.

It would appear therefore that -hä and -h are used with proper names instead of -hi, which is used with common nouns, only. This supposition is strongly supported by the analogy of the dative singular which in almost all known instances ends in -yä in proper names, while in common nouns it almost invariably ends in -i. Thus the dative singular of *Asädäplömi* is *Asädäplömäyä*, but *tidäimi* has *tidäini*; and *Iyamara* makes *Iyamarayä*, but *Kbatri* makes *Kbatri*.

Whether -hä like -hi is a declinable suffix, or has passed into something like a true case-ending it is impossible at present to decide, but in such forms as *Arnnähä*, Xanthian, on a coin, (Six, Monnaies Lyciennes No. 185) which corresponds to *Ptarazö*, Patarian (No. 199), and in *Arnnähä x̄rōi*, Khäröi the Xanthian (No. 181) it certainly appears to be adjectival. If so it is probably also declinable.

The general conclusion is that Lycian has no true Genitive. Its place is taken by a declinable adjectival suffix, which sometimes has a possessive meaning as in *atlahi*, and sometimes not as in *äbähi*. I hope to show on some other occasion that this opinion, at present only illustrated from the bilingual inscriptions, is not contradicted but very strongly confirmed by the other Lycian monuments.

NOTES—

- 1) The letter here written q has usually been transcribed by w, or u consonant. It might possibly be derived from Greek Koppa.
- 2) The q in *Sbiqaza* is not the same letter as that referred to in the last note, but as it occurs only once it may be a variant of it, or of the letter which I have written as g in *Khäriga*.
- 3) This phrase will be discussed in my next article.
- 4) See an article of M. Imbert, *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, November 1888, p. 281.
- 5) See Six, *Monnaies Lyciennes*.
- 6) *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, July 1890. W. ARKWRIGHT.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTION 32 OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

(*Paper read before The International Congress of Orientalists held in London, Sept. 1, 1891.*)

WHEN in 1869, the Section des Sciences Religieuses, in imitation of its elder branch the Section des Sciences historiques et philologiques of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, decided to publish a library of its own, containing a section of works of professors and students, the first volume issued affirming the fact was entitled : *Etudes de critique et d'histoire par les membres de la section des sciences religieuses*, avec une introduction par M. Albert Reville, président de la Section ; (Paris, Leroux xxx, 371 and 16 pp.)

In this volume I have inserted (p. 93-97) a short notice upon “*Un nouveau roi de Saba sur une inscription sabéenne inédite du Louvre.*” The three first lines of this inscription have alone been preserved, besides the bucranium placed on the border, within an edge, on the right of lines 1 and 2. Herewith this text :—

አበ አብ አብ አብ አብ አብ አብ አብ 1 (Head of
፩ ዘ ቅ ማ ቅ ማ ቅ ማ ቅ ማ 2 a bull)
በ አ አ አ አ አ አ አ አ 3

Hebrew Transcription :

- 1 נְשָׁאכְרָב | יְהָאָמֵן | מֶלֶךְ | סְבָא
- 2 בֵּן | דָּמָרָעֵלִי | דָּרָת | הַחֲדָת | ו
- 3 הַגְּבָאֵן | אַצְלָם | וְהַקְנֵי | עַתְּהָר | דָּבָב

If I had to translate this inscription to day, I would differ on some points from my former version which I would substitute by the following :

1. Nascha'karib Youha'min, king of Saba,
2. son of Dhamar'ali Dhirrih, has renewed
3. and restored an old tradition, and consecrated to 'Athtar of Dhaibâ-
4. [n, Lord of the Sea of danger, a statue of gold.

Instead of considering נְעָלָם as a plural in the constructed state of נְעָל “image,” I think now that this word is the undetermined absolute state of the substantive נְעָל which I assimilate to the Arabic أَصْل “root, principle, origin, nobility, tradition.”

As to the God 'Athtar of Dhaibâ, Lord of the Sea of danger, his complete literature exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, where at the least three dedications in his honour are preserved; see in my recent opuscule *Les monuments Sabéens et Himyarites de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques), the Nos. II, 1, 3 and 4, 8 and 9; xx, 1, 6 and 9; xxii, 1, 5, 10 and 12; perhaps xxiv; p. 11-13, 30-32, 34-35, 37. The head of a bull or antelope, which the monument of the Louvre has in common with those of the Bibliothèque Nationale, shows clearly, the figure being one and the same, that they all apply to the same 'Athtar. I have supposed, with due caution, that the Sea of danger was the famous channel denoted on our maps by the Arabic name Bâb al-Mandab, “the Gate of the Affliction.”

I now come to the stone mentioned in the title of the present paper. It was brought from Ma'rib, the ancient capital city of the Sabaeans, to London by Joseph Mikal, for the British and Foreign Bible Society, and ultimately purchased by the British Museum, where it was placed on Feb. 16, 1863.

The first line of this monument, measuring 0^m, 34 in height, and 0^m, 53 in width, has been left undeciphered by Osiander, Levy, Joseph Halevy, and all the scholars who in late years have worked out with great success the Yemenite epigraphy.

It is the Louvre inscription which has given the clue of the secret hitherto so completely hidden by these topless letters, reduced by an unfortunate fracture to mere feet, headless and bodyless.

In the course of one of my conferences at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes (Section des Sciences Religieuses), my disciple, M. Mayer Lambert, now my successor in the chair of Semitic languages at the Séminaire Israelite of Paris, and myself, we have, at the same instant, by a sort of suggestion resulting from efforts protracted in common on a series of analogous facts, found the solution of the problem; and I give communication of it to our fellow-workers in his name as much as in mine.

Here is, exactly reproduced, this first line of the inscription 32 of the British Museum, such as it is preserved, and published in the book entitled *Inscriptions in the Hymyritic character discovered chiefly in Southern Arabia and now in the British Museum*, (London, printed by order of the Trustees, MDCCCLXIII), pl. XVI :



My readers may now compare our restoration with it, and no doubt it will be possible on its accuracy for any one taking the trouble of examining the broken letters and seeing how exactly they agree with the primitive text.

Then follows :

۱ نَسْعَرَبْ | يَهْمَنْ | مَلِكْ | سَبَأْ | بْنْ | دَمَرْعَلِيْ | دَرَحْ | هَكْ 2
 ۲ نِيْ | شَمَسَهُوْ | تَنَفْ | بَعْلَتْ | عَزَّرْ | أَرْبَعَتْنْ | وَعَشْرَنَهُونْ 3
 ۳ أَشْلَمَنْ | لَوْفِيَهُمْوَ | وَوَفِيْ | بَيْتَنْ | سَلْحَنْ | وَأَبْعَلَهُوْ 4
 ۴ وَمِلْكَهُمْوَ | وَلْ | سَعَدَهُمْوَ | بَرِيْ | أَدَنَمْ | وَمَكْوَنَتْمْ | وَلْ 5
 ۵ وَيَعْ | وَتَبَرْ | وَمَنِعْ | وَأَهَرَنْ | بَلْ | شَرَهُمْوَ | وَشَنَاهُمْوَ 6
 ۶ بَعَثَهَتْرْ | وَأَلْمَكَهْ | وَبَشَمَسَهُمْوَ | تَنَفْ | بَعْلَتْ | عَزَّرْ

Hebrew Transcription :

۱ נַשְׁעָרָב | יְהָמָן | מֶלֶךְ | סָבָא | בֶן | דָמָרָעָלִי | דָרָח | הַקְ 2
 ۲ נִי | שְׁמָסָהּו | תָנָف | בָעָלָת | עָזָר | אַרְבָעָתָן | וְעָשָׁרָתָהּוּן 3
 ۳ אַשְׁלָמָנ | לְוִפְיָהּמּו | וּוְפִי | בֵיתָן | סָלָחָנ | וְאַבְעָלָהּו 4
 ۴ וְמִלְכָהּמּו | וְל | סָעָדָהּמּו | בְּרִי | אַדְנָמ | וְמַקְוָנָתָמ | וְל 5
 ۵ וְיָע | וְתָבָר | וְמַנִּע | וְאַהֲרָנ | בְּל | שְׁרָהּמּו | וְשְׁנָאָהּמּו 6
 ۶ בְּעָתָהּתָר | וְאַלְמָקָה | וְבְשָׁמָסָהּמּו | תָנָف | בָעָלָת | עָזָר

Translation :

1 Nascha'karib Youha'min, king of Saba', son of Dhamar'ali Dhirrih,
 has conse-
 2 crated to his Sun (goddess) Tanuf (who is High), Mistress
 of Gaddar twenty-four,

3 statues, because he has protected them, and because he has protected the fortress of Salhin and its defenders
 4 and their King, and because he has bestowed upon them a fullness of wealth and powers, and because he has
 5 humiliated, broken, stopped and caused to withdraw all their adversaries and their foes.
 6 In the name of 'Ath]tar and Ilmaḳḳâh, and of their Sun (goddess) *Tanúj* (who is High), mistress of Gaddâr !

We shall have later on to deal with the details of this interpretation, and to justify the cases where it differs from previous works. The only thing I want to point out at present, is that the inscription, like that of the Louvre, comes from Nascha'karib Youha'min, king of Saba', son of Dhamar'ali Dhirriḥ. Decidedly the sceptic of the Ecclesiastes was right in his mistrust of anything done "under the Sun." Nothing is new under the Sun, not even, as I had supposed, the king of Saba' Nascha'karib Youha'min.

HARTWIG DEREMBOURG.

SOME UN-NOTICED PLANTS ON THE
 ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS (BRITISH MUSEUM).

In the B. & O. Record, some notices of the Flora of the Assyrian Monuments have been published.* There remained however some four or five plants, which I recently identified, and now proceed to describe.

On several of the bas-reliefs there is a fir-tree, (Nos. 51, 52, 53, 54 and 55—Kouyunjik Gallery) and 45 and 121 basement, which occurs on both level and hilly ground. From the way it is delineated it is evident that it was meant for a *true pine*. With the kind help of the officials of the Nat. Hist. Mus. (Bot. Dept.), I have been able to identify this fir-tree with *Pinus Brutia* of Boissier's *Flor. Orient.* (vol. 5, p. 695).

* Vol. II. No. 6, May, 1888; No. 7, June, 1888; No. 8, July, 1888; Vol. III. No. 1 Dec. 1888; No. 2 Jan. 7 1889; No. 3 Feb. 1889; Vol. IV. No. 3 Feb. 1890; No. 4 Mar. 1890; No. 5 April 1890; No. 8 July 1890.

It is found in the mountainous districts of Crete, Chios, Cilicia, Taurus, Lebanon, N. Persia, and as far as W. Afghanistan. It is most likely to have been the one, which was common in the hilly countries of Assyria. A colored drawing is given of *P. Brutia* in the 'Flora Napolitana' of Tenore, pl. c.c. Boissier states that this pine is near *P. Halepensis*, the only difference being that the latter has more rigid leaves, and less pendulous cones.

There can hardly be any doubt that the *Pinus* of the monuments is one of these two, and as *P. Brutia* ranges from Syria to Afghanistan it is more likely to be the one meant by the sculptor. Of course the picture that the artist had in his mind's eye was that of a *young Pinus*, with its symmetrical candelabrum-like branches. A *Pinus* of that age makes a very pretty and ornamental object, and such as would attract an artist's attention.

There cannot be much doubt that in Assyrian times, when the monarch set forth on a conquering expedition he took his court with him, which included artists and poets, to chronicle the deeds of the great man, and hand them down to posterity. These were the war correspondents of those days. Under such circumstances, the artist would have had ample opportunities of seeing young symmetrical pine trees, on the outskirts of the forests, which were suited to the ornamentation of his bas-reliefs.

In the Brit. Mus. basement (No. 76 and 77) there occur delineated two figures of one plant, which had puzzled me for a long time. They both have large acute sessile radical leaves. In one case, however, it is shown with three blossoms unexpanded close to the leaves, and in the other with three composite expanded flowers on separate long stalks.

With the help of the officials of the Nat. Hist. Mus. where they have, not only an extensive Herbarium, but a large collection of drawings of plants, I think I have been fortunate enough to identify this also.

It corresponds closely with *Hieracium pannosum* of Boissier's 'Flora orientalis.' He says it has "large oblong and broad leaves, obtuse or rather acute, with a sessile base; the stem is naked, with from 3 to 5 flower heads, with its leaves closely packed; sometimes the stem is reduced to one flower: the flower-heads are large, globuse and long peduncled. Two of its syonyms are *H. lanatum* and *H. orientale*. It is found in the rocky regions of Greece, Taurus, Cilicia, South Armenia &c.

It is pictured in Reichenbach's 'Flora Germanica' XIX pl. MDLV.

Of course in Germany it would not be expected to have such luxuriant foliage as the artist has given it on the Assyrian Monuments.

Reichenbach says it has thick leaves, oblong cuneate, with a *simple* or corymbose stem, and is very thickly haired.

Boissier however mentions a variety of this plant, called *H. Taggetum* (name taken from a ridge of mountains in Southern Greece), which is a beautiful plant, with peduncles of half, to one and a half feet in length. It is moreover clothed with a hair of a very silvery silkiness. Here then appears to be the key for the reason which induced the artist to introduce this particular plant into his bas-reliefs. He was struck with its beauty and with its silvery hairiness, and with its long graceful peduncles, each carrying one flower a foot and a half high.

There are several Hierachiums, having only one flower on one stalk, but this is the most striking.

The reader might ask—how comes it that a plant common on the Assyrian mountains is also found in Greece and Germany? This is easily explained. Many of the composite have their small light seeds furnished with a sort of hairy parachute called a *pappus*. The wind would carry them not only to Greece and Germany or *vice-versa*, but to Scotland and even Iceland, and wherever they could germinate and live they would be found; of course in colder regions they would not be so luxuriant as in the warmer ones.

The description given by Boissier of *Hieracium pannosum* agrees closely with the characters shown by the Assyrian artist†, making allowance of course for the absence of perspective, and for the material being stone. Its large compact leaves, globose heads, and very long one-flowered peduncles leave no reasonable room for doubt that the plant on this monument is *Hieracium pannosum*, or *Taggetum* of Boissier.

There is another oriental plant which must have struck the Assyrian artist with its purity, elegance and exquisite scent. It is the 'Madonna Lily.'—*Lilium candidum*. C. F. Ledebour, in his 'Flora Rossica' (1852) gives it as indigenous in the Caucasian provinces; while Mr. Baker, director of the Kew Herbarium gives its range along South Europe, as far as Palestine, Northern Syria, and the Caucasus. There is little room for doubt that so sweet and beautiful a lily, with a bulb so amenable to cultivation, early found its way to the gardens of the Assyrian monarchs. It is unmistakably, and very truthfully delineated on

†For all we know he may have been a *Greek* Artist!

Nos. 76 and 77, in the basement, Brit. Mus.

Another plant of the Monuments is a *reed* shown on the river banks, on Nos. 3, 9, 10, 11, 56 and 58 of the Kouyunjik Gallery. It is also shown in one of the bas-reliefs in the basement. It evidently formed jungles of reeds so dense that animals and men could hide in them, as is graphically shown on some of these sculptures (57 and 58, basement).

It is a tall reed with graceful alternate long leaves, terminating in a spindle shaped panicle of grass-like flowers. It appears to be no other than the *Arundo Donax* (*thonax*, the reed arrow) of Boissier's 'Flor. Orient. (Vol. 5, p. 564).

He says its habitat is in damp places, near banks of rivers, in Syria and Transcaucasia. The smaller reeds are thin, and light, and straight, and well suited for the stems of arrows. If it were not then found on Assyrian territories, it was no doubt found in the countries those monarchs invaded and conquered, which these monuments were no doubt intended to illustrate.

The *Arundo Donax* is a reed that splits up easily into thin strips, which makes it suitable for the manufacture of baskets. It is so used in the South of Europe, as well as for cages fishing rods, &c.

There is one other plant on the monuments, the identification of which appears to be hopeless. It is on No. 6, 7, Nimroud Gallery.

There are two specimens near each other. The plant consists of a thick and short stumpy stem, with two thick stumpy branches, all three ending in short and wavy branches. I at first conjectured it might be a *Euphorbia*, but there is nothing like it in Boissier's *Flor. Orient.* It may not impossibly be an introduced specimen of the 'Baobab' (*Adansonia digitata*) shown during its leafless period, which is the most striking. The 'Baobab' is found in the Soudan, but there are several old and characteristic specimens in Lucknow, no doubt introduced. In Assyrian times there was great commercial activity between the Red sea and Persian Gulf. Their ivory and many other products must have come from the Soudan, thro' the Red sea route. The seed of the 'Baobab' is enclosed in a hard shell, which may be carried long distances without injury to its germinating power. Where there was great commercial activity between the two countries, it is nothing preposterous to suppose that the seed of so striking a tree would have found its way to Persia and Assyria. The very fact that only *two* specimens occur close to each other

on the monuments shows that this tree was *rare*, and may strengthen the conjecture that they were meant for *introduced* 'Baobab' trees.

These five plants complete the Flora of the Assyrian Monuments in the Brit. Mus. To recapitulate; the flora consists of—

Phoenix dactylifera—the date tree :

Pinus Brutia‡—a true pine :

Ficus Carica—the fig tree ;

Vitis vinifera—the vine :

Musa sapientum—the banana :

Cucumis melo, or } the melon :

Citrullus vulgaris (?) } ;

Arundo Donax—the arrow reed ;

Lilium Candidum—the Madonna Lily.

Hieracium pannosum—a pretty hairy plant,

Adansonia digitata (?)—the Baobab :

The latter is doubtful, but it is not clear that it can mean *anything else*, and would be sufficiently striking to take the fancy of an artist.

E. BONAVIA.

‡ The cone fruit in the hand of certain figures may be the cone of this Pine. But as the cedar was known to the Assyrians and held in veneration, it may be more probable that the Cedar cone was used for sprinkling holy water.

THE P'U YAO KING :

A FRAGMENT OF THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA.

(Translated by the late Prof. Dr. S. Beal.)

(Continued from p. 185).

And to arrive at complete inward illuminations,
Thus by my conduct manifesting my compassion and love,
And for the very last time seeking the deliverance of all that lives.
Now then I ought to obtain suitable food
That my body may obtain fullness and strength,
And then proceed to sit under the Royal Tree,
With a view to complete Holy and universal knowledge
Not to seek a limited amount of religious merit,
But to reach the Highest point of Repose possible :
Not to obtain merely the perfection of enlightened sight,
But reaching by my energy to the attainment of sweet dew

To declare to the utmost the merit of my present birth,
 And cut short for ever the imperfect modes of religious system.
 His mind thinking and reflecting thus :
 There came a heavenly sound to the village
 (To command) to fill up the golden bowl¹ with rice milk,
 And taking it to go to the River side
 And there to present it as an offering with joyful heart.
 That he might attain the Sweet dew of wisdom
 After which he had striven for countless ages,
 All his faculties, (senses) perfectly composed :
 And now all the Devas and Nāgas and Spirits, going onward,
 The Great Holy One arrived at the bank of the River,
 Intent on affording perfect deliverance for all,
 He entered the water to cleanse himself.
 In order to wash away for ever all pollution,
 Concerned for and grieved at the defilement of the world.
 Then countless thousand Devas were filled with joy
 And each scattered flowers and sprinkled perfumes,
 The world silently beheld him advance and enter the water,
 (Accomplishing thus) the highest cleansing among men,
 Knowing indeed that he was indeed Bodhisatwa,
 Firmly establishing himself in an undefiled religious life.
 And now the cleansing (baptism) being over,
 A hundred thousand Devas paid him religious service,
 (For) His body perfectly free from defilement
 A Deva putra offered a Kasaya Garment.
 Which he immediately put on his person,
 This being accomplished perfectly,
 A Nāga's consort beholding him with joy,
 Offered to him a desirable couch,
 Silently and with composed mien he sat thereon,
 And with his eyes of wisdom regarding the world,
 He awaited the offering of food from the Sākya lady,
 The golden dish full of rice milk,
 (She brought) and bowed her head at his feet,
 This food by his inward perception he received and ate,
 After which his body became full and strong.
 He flung the bowl into the River.
 All the Devas receiving it offered it worship
 And ever after reverenced it as Buddha himself,
 Thus² it was he finished his meal
 Partaking of the exquisitely sweet rice milk,
 His body revived and his strength restored,
 He went onward to sit beneath the tree of Buddha.
 Arrived there he sat under the tree,
 Arranging his body motionless and fixed,
 Firm as the step of the Divine Sakra,
 He set himself to accomplish the allotted task of a Bodhisatwa.

1) Is the *Piu hien* a Sthāndila ? L. V. p. 258 n., but more probably it stands for the Kundikā or water pitcher.

2) In the original there is an expression *ju-lai* which generally means

Thus then Bodhisatwa having finished his meal, filled with compassion considered (*nim*) how best to save the world from its misery and ruin, and after this he desired to go sit beneath the tree, with a view to perfect the wisdom of a Buddha and to save the world. Then appeared the wonderful signs which always attend the progress of all the Buddhas of the ten regions (during this period of their career). Five hundred birds came, self manifested, to the place where he sat, and circling around the body of Bodhisatwa, with loving and compassionate sound they warbled forth: 'The infinite merits acquired for the sake of all living things, with a view to deliver them from the five modes of birth' (for their conversion), on this account has he appeared during 500 (births) (?) to scatter the five powers of sense (Yin), to destroy the five "coverings" [anusayas], to eradicate the five modes of religious practice (?) to establish the five supernatural modes of perception, to banish the five times five, the twenty five causes (foundation) of misery, to establish the basis of Reason (Bodhi) to fix firmly that which has not whereon to rest, the original unconditioned wisdom of Buddha—and so the verses say :

"During the lapse of unnumbered Kalpas
 He has accumulated religious merit acquired by the practice of the six
 Parametas.
 The four characteristics, the four compassionate principles,
 As the future deliverer of the three worlds
 How great his Love, how unmixed his compassion,
 Desirous above all things to save, the sick, the deaf, the dumb.
 And now he is about to perfect the Great Wisdom,
 Distinguished by the possession of the 32 signs
 Once for all he has appeared in the world
 To declare the doctrines of sorrow, emptiness, unreality.
 To cause men thoroughly to penetrate the original condition of no-
 thingness,
 And to enter on the three precious treasures of Buddha,
 The guilt which clouds the minds of worldly men
 The impediment of the twelve Nidanas,
 Prevent them from penetrating (the secret of) Supreme Truth,
 Lost in the unfathomed gulf of repeated birth and death.
 But if they are able to understand the vanity of all things around them,
 Not transgressing in their walk in the world (world of sense),
 Then as the sorrows caused by sense are destroyed,
 The Spirit (self) pure as the King of the Law
 Arrived at the highest truth, the supremest wisdom,

Tathâgata ; but such a title would not be given to Bodhisatwa in this part of his life.

Can be affected by no impediment or limit,
Full of light, as the Sun or the Moon,
A source of benefit to others without limit
You might more easily pound Mt. Sumeru to dust,
You might as well set bounds to space,
As attempt to measure his Infinite Wisdom,
Or the insurpassable conduct of the Great Holy One.

(*To be continued*).

THE NEGRITO-PYGMIES OF ANCIENT CHINA.

(*Continued from p. 174*).

II.

9. We have called the attention of our readers in the previous paragraphs of the present paper, to the process of literary composition followed by the Chinese writers on ethnography, and the necessity of making the criticism of their text, before giving any credence to their chronological arrangement of statements, and their identification of subjects. Now we have to consider, under certain respects, how far these statements when put right if required, and their original sources when available, can be trusted with reference to extraordinary physical peculiarities of races. Our general standpoint being always the subject matter of this paper.

10. A difficulty in researches of this kind consists in the fact, that in referring to antiquity, we are frequently confronted with side questions, the solution of which, involving a not inconsiderable enquiry much beyond the limits of a passing reference, may appreciably affect the results of such researches. Should, for instance, the *Annals of the Bamboo Books* prove to be a late compilation, the historical value of the statement which we shall have to quote from it might be affected, but it would be only in a very limited sense, as we shall be able to adduce some evidence in favour of its antiquity, and several others of subsequent dates. There are however no sufficient reasons to doubt the veracity of the aforesaid work more than of any other historical record from other countries of the same period. The work consists of the most concise historical statements, chronologi-

cally arranged, obvious relies of former and longer records. They extend from the time of Hwang-ti to 295 A.C. in which year they were buried, engraved on bamboo tablets, in the grave of King Siang of Wei, from whence they were dug out, together with upwards of fifteen other works, in 279 A.D. The locality was *Ki hien* in *Wei hui ju*, Honan, N.⁸ Their authenticity has been specially examined by Dr. J. Legge,⁹ and Dr. C. de Harlez,¹⁰ and they have both concluded in favour of the genuineness of the work which we fully support.

11. A check to the authenticity of many statements concerning early times in Chinese general histories, that is to say, in late compilations, is found in the alleged prototypes of genuine historical events, glorious for the Chinese sway. Uncritical native compilers, in their unbounded admiration for their primitive rulers, patterns of all virtues, and models in every respect for after ages, were inclined to, and really often did, attribute to the time of their government, prototypes or forerunners of many a subsequent event of importance, and of great deeds which shed a lustre upon their era. I have already pointed out in various papers such adornments in the records concerning the early period of the Chinese sway in China for instance, the so-called embassy of Yuezh-shang¹¹, the introduction of metallic money¹², of paper money¹³, of the swanpan or abacus¹⁴, &c., all later events, and inventions or introductions which have been unduly attributed to primitive times.

12. We do not perceive any such check as we have just alluded to in the present case of the pygmies. There is no historical event known in ancient times which may have suggested to an imaginative compiler any retrospective interpolation concerning them, which, however, if it has ever existed, must have been older than the time of Confucius. It is not found in the *Shu-King*, or Book of History, which ends in 628 B.C. ; although fifty-eight, only, of the original collection of a hundred chapters, now remain, but none are missing from those of the beginning or the end of the collection. The latest gap concerning events connected with our researches occurs during the reign of the king Tch'eng of Tchou (1103-1066 A.C.). One of the missing chapters referred to the wild tribes of the East. Our pygmies of S.E. Shantung might have been mentioned there, but this is a mere supposition which no evidence supports or disproves. Any possible statement about them which may have been lost from the *Shu-King* cannot have been of a later date. That the knowledge of the Pygmies by the Chinese and their presence in China proper, dates back to high antiquity is, certainly a fact founded on a sound basis.¹⁵

NOTES—

8) *Tai ping yü lan*, Kiv. 161, fol. 3.

9) *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, pp. 176-183.

10) Prof. Ch. de Harlez has lately and ably vindicated *The Antiquity of the Ancient Chinese sacred books* in a special paper published in the B. & O. R., 1891, vol. V, pp. 45-48, and 54-63. For the Annals of the Bamboo Books, the remarks of Dr. de H. will be found on pp. 61-62.

11) *The land of Sinim, not China*, §2, in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, September, 1887, vol. I., pp. 184-185.

12) *The coins of China in the British Museum*, vol. I., introd.

13) *Paper money of the Ninth Century and supposed Leather coinage of China in Numismatic Chronicle*, 1882 (III) vol. II, pp. 334-336.

14) *The old numerals, the counting rods, and the swan-pan in China*, §§ 34-35 (Repr. fr. *Num. Chron.*, 1883 (III) vol. III, pp. 297-340.)

15) In the Preface to the *Shu*, commonly attributed to Confucius, but which is probably older, the missing chapter I allude to is thus mentioned: "When king Tch'eng had smitten the wild tribes of the East, the *Suh shen* came to congratulate him. The king made the chief of Yung make the *Charge to Suh-Shen*, and gave him presents also." (Cf. J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. III., p. 12). The Suh-Shen were the ancestors of the *Djurchen* or *Kin* of which the Mandshus of the present day are the descendants. Cf. A. Wylie, *Translation of the Ts'ing wan k'e mung. A Chinese grammar of the Manchu Tartar language*, pp. IV.-VI., and my special paper, *The Djurchen of Mandshuria, their name, language, and literature* (1889) par. 4.

13. The statement of the Annals of the Bamboo Books which we shall have to refer to about the Negrito-Pygmyes, is not the only entry of fabulous appearance which has caused a slur to be cast upon the veracity of this valuable document of antiquity. Several other extraordinary races of men mentioned therein have remained unexplained, and it is only fair that we should not pass them without notice. Some of these statements have been obtained by hearsay and rebound, while others had assumed their unacceptable garb before reaching the ears of the faithful if credulous reporters. Others have been looked upon as marvellous, simply through ignorance of the critics.

14. Such for instance are the *Kwan-hiung*, i.e. "Perforated breasts," and the *Tchang Ku* i.e. "Long Legs" tribes, which are reported as coming to make their submission to Hwang-ti in the 59th year of his reign¹⁷. Surely these statements conceal some truth, and as its amount may be approximately ascertained, they should not be dismissed without a careful sifting. That the two names were really intended to carry some meaning cognate to that given by their proper translation is more than probable. They were not simply renderings of foreign names. This is shown by the use made of other words carrying the same sense in describing these tribes.

15. The *Kwan-hiung* are also called *Tch'aeen-hiung* which has the same meaning, by Hwai Nan-tze of the IIInd century B.C. In the VIth book of the *Shan-hai-King*¹⁸, which book is looked upon by modern critics as a relic of the beginning of the Shang dynasty (XVIth century A.C.), the *Kwan-hiung* are carefully described as inhabiting the East of the *Tch'i h Kwoh*, which was itself east of the *San Miao*, and therefore in the modern Anhui province¹⁹. They are said to be men with a hole or holes in the breast, which may be a round-about way of saying that they used to tattoo or prick their breasts, and nothing more, without any tincture of the marvellous in the statement. We know that tattooing tribes existed among the pre-Chinese population of China in the east of the country, where I have pointed out linguistic traces of Indonesian races formerly in occupation of the land²⁰. We shall have to refer again to the subject in a subsequent paragraph of this paper.

The legendary interpretation of the above name *Kwan-hiung*, has been developed into a regular notion that some men have a hole in the stomach, the hole being closed by a sort of claper which permits the entrance of a stick. And this notion was, or is, now current in the folk-lore of Indo-China.²¹

16. The *Tchang Ku* called also *Tchang Kioh*,²² both names meaning 'Long Legs' are not necessarily a wonderful people. Some races do really exhibit a greater development of the leg than others. It is, for instance, one of the physical characteristics of the Mois, Penongs and Khas of Indo-China, pointed out by Dr. Thorel, the anthropologist of the French commission under the command of Doudart de Lagrée²³.

17. With special reference to the subject matter of these pages, objection has been taken to the veracity of the entry in the same Annals concerning the Pygmies, because of the alleged unreality of existence of such a race of men, and also because of a marvellous additional statement resulting from a misconception and unknowledge of the interpreters. As we have already disposed of the objection to the Pygmy races, the second one only requires explanation. Instead of the plain statement exhibited in our translation below, showing that this people brought with them some feathers of the *Mot* River, otherwise some sort of marine plants from a river spoken of in ancient works, some interpreters, bent on finding marvels at all cost, have ventured to understand it accordingly with their views. The name of the river has been taken for the common word of the same spelling which means 'to sink,' and they have thus obtained the marvellous "feathers which sink in water" which appear in

some European translations²⁴.

18. It is not only in ancient works like the *Tchuh shu ki nien* that curious cases of ethnology, susceptible of explanation, are met with. Much later works of a higher standard contain some remarkable instances. An example will be sufficient.

The annals of the T'ang dynasty report, that during the years *tcheng kwan* (627-649 A.D.) some envoys from *Fu-nam* (in Indo-China), presented to the court at Loh-yang two men from the *Peh-touKwoh* or White Heads country. They said that in that country, situated to the west of *Fu-nam*, and in the south-west of *Ts'an-pan*, the inhabitants were plain white, both in head and body; that they lived in caves in the recesses of inaccessible mountains, and have some intercourse with the *Ts'anpan*.²⁵

The report has a savour of the marvellous which modern experience disapproves of, although there is undoubtedly but an exaggeration of truth in this curious statement. Some parts of Indo-China are most unhealthy, and the climatic conditions give rise to many skin diseases. The White Heads were most probably affected with some such disease, causing a discolouration, like the following case reported from Tungking. The most curious though inoffensive infirmity is that which causes the hair of some young Tungkinese to turn to a whiteness resembling that of old age, and their bodies to the colour of a white sheet. Such cases are not infrequent, and the military regulations of the country provide for their dispensation from military obligations.²⁶

19. It results from the foregoing paragraphs that ethnographical statements in the Ancient Chinese literature, even when fabulous in appearance, must not be thrown over without due consideration, as they almost always conceal an amount of truth much greater than their marvellous garb would seem to allow.

Let us now proceed with the direct statements concerning the presence of Negrito-Pygmyes in Ancient China.

NOTES—

16) *Ku* means properly the thigh, the upper part of the leg.

17) *Tchuh Shu Ki nien*, I. 1.

18) Cf. the remarks of Iih Yuen in the Preface to his edition of the *Shan hai King*, 1781.

19) Bk. VI., fol. 3.

20) *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 196; also §§ 23, 129-144; and my *Formosa notes*, §§ 100-104.

21) Mr. Herbert J. Allen (*China Review*, 1886, vol. XV. p. 187) has

suggested that the legend of the "perforated breasts" arose from an incorrect drawing of the mode of carrying palkees in India : a suggestion more ingenious than probable. *Palkee*=hind. *pālkī*. The thing appears already in the *Ramayana*, but the word is not mentioned before Akbar, according to Yule-Burnell, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, p. 502.

- 22) In *Hwai Nan-tze*, Cf. *Shan hui King*, Bk. VII, f. 4.
- 23) *Voyage d' Exploration en Indo-Chine*, vol. II, p. 317.
- 24) Another suggestion was that they were feathers from their bodies, but this was a gratuitous assumption, as declared by Prof. C. de Harlez, *B. & O.R.*, March 1891, vol. V, p. 63.
- 25) *T'ang Shu*.—*Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 786, f. 10 v.
- 26) Cf. Ed. Planchut, *Le Tonkin*, p. 166, of *Révue des Deux Mondes*, 1 May, 1874.

III.

20. "In the 29th year of the Emperor Yao, in Spring, the chief of the *Tsiao-Yao* 儻僥 or Dark Pygmies came to Court and offered as tribute feathers from the *Mot* water 没羽²⁷."

As shown by this entry, we begin with the semi-historical times as recorded in the "Annals of the Bamboo books," and the date, about 2048, A.C. The so-called feathers were simply some sort of marine plant, or sea-weed, with which the immigrant Chinese, still an inland people, were yet unacquainted. The *Mot* water or river, says the "*Shen hui King*," the canonical book of Hills and Seas, was situated in the south-east of the Tai Shan in Shantung²⁸. This gives a clue to the location of the Pygmies.

21. The Chinese symbols employed are sufficiently clear with regard to this small race of men. The signs of the Chinese writing could not be deprived of the ideographic meaning contained in nearly every one of them; advantage was, therefore, generally taken of this inconvenience, to employ in the transcription of proper names of tribes, among the symbols available by their phonetic value, such as carried with them an approximate description of one or other of their leading characteristics. In the present case they were dwarfs, and this is expressed by the above word for pygmies *Yao* anciently *NGHIAO*, and still more anciently *NGAO*, which means properly "false, deceitful, deceptive," and therefore "abortive;" a most appropriate term for 'pygmies,' who were regarded as a not yet grown up people, and in fact as runts or castlings. The other word, the first and qualitative one as required by the ideology of the language, is commonly written as above *Tsiau* since the time of the *siao-tchuen*, or small seal character, i.e. a few centuries before the Christian era; the silent determinative for man joined to it shows that the compound symbol is specially applied to this race. Formerly the determinative was absent²⁹, as shown

in several instances of old works where the uncomplicated spelling is still preserved³⁰. Therefore *tsiao* must be read from right to left, and the proper signification of 焦 *tsiao* must be taken into account. It means "burnt black in the fire, darkened by heat of fire (or of the sun), and there is no doubt that such was its meaning in the eyes of the scribes, authors of the transcription *Tsiao-Yao* formerly *Tsao-nga-o*, which must be translated as we have done "Dark Pygmies³¹." Their small size and their dark complexion are both characteristics of the Negrito race.

22. There is, no reason for rejecting the statement of the Annals of the Bamboo Books concerning their sending envoys to the Chinese ruler at the time of Yao. The location of these Dark Pygmies in S.E. Shantung agrees with the positive knowledge we possess of the small area which the Chinese dominion really covered under his rule. A careful analysis of the geographical names mentioned in connection therewith, throws great light on the matter. It shows that this dominion was limited to the basin of the Yellow River within some distance from the sea, which limit was only reached several centuries later. The seat of Yao's government, his place of death and burial, were all within the modern province of Shansi, according to the best Chinese authorities : no geographical objection can therefore be raised about the matter.

23. The present monograph shows conclusively that Negritos were part of the native population of China, when in the XXIIIrd century B.C. the civilized Bak tribes came into the land. They were established in the maritime provinces of the East, apparently south of Shantung, (which was itself inhabited by men of high stature), in Kiangsu, Tchekiang, Anhui, and in the South to an undefined distance. They came into contact with the Chinese Bak tribes when the latter were still under the leadership of Yao. The emigrants, laden with the elements of the civilisation which they had learned in the West, had made their way some two centuries previously from the North-west to the fertile and much desired Flowery Land. Stopped in their advance at the south corner of the Yellow River by the native states of Tsao and Wei, they had crossed it at a more northerly point about the latitude of Tai-yuen and then established themselves in Shansi and W. Tchihli, having the eastward course of the Yellow River for their southern boundary. Thence they began to spread abroad individually or in groups according to their usual practice of gradual occupation and possession by slow infiltration, unless checked by open hostilities. The overbearing pride of their leaders, who called themselves Sons of Heaven, was shared by all their followers, and enhanced

by the possession of a civilisation superior to their surroundings, while the higher organization which ensued made them welcome among several of the native tribes. They therefore considered themselves masters and paramount everywhere, and believed their supremacy to be *always* recognized tacitly or otherwise as a matter of divine right. They were soon led to believe that they were really masters of large tracts of country where they had scarcely a footing, and where they were only tolerated by the previous occupiers and their successors. It is in this way that we hear such glowing accounts of their dominion under their first rulers over large regions trodden only by a few bold adventurers of their race. A close examination and identification of all the geographical names successively mentioned in their early records is the only means whereby we may disentangle the whole fabric of their mythical greatness, and which enables us to understand how long and protracted was the effort, being completed, as it was, only under the present dynasty, which has led to their possession of the whole country known as China proper.

NOTES—

- 27) *Tchuh Shu Ki nien*, I. 1. Dr. J. Legge, *Chin. Cl.*, v. III., int. p. 112, translates: "In his 29th year the chief of the Pygmies came to Court in token of homage, and offered as tribute their feathers which sank in water."
- 28) *Shan hai King*, V. 23 : *K'ang hi tze tien*, s.v.
- 29) On the growing use of silent determinatives in the Chinese writing after the reform of *Shé-Tch'ou* (820 B.C.) cf. T. de L. : *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 25. J.R.A.S. 1882. vol. XIV, p. 802.
- 30) As for instance in the *Shan Hai King*.
- 31) In revising this paper for press, I see that Prof. Marquess D'Hervey St. Denys has given the same interpretation in notes, p. 266 of his *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine par Matouanlin*, vol. II.
- 32) These two states of *Jung* were not subdued before the 76th year of Yao. Cf. *Tchuh shu ki nien*, II, 1 ; and T. de L., *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, par. 191.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(*To be continued*).

*THE TABLET INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHINESE JEWS
DISCOVERED AT KAI-FUNG FU (CHINA) IN 1850.*

(Continued from p. 182).

TABLET OF 1488,¹

A Tablet recording the rebuilding of the Temple² of Truth and Purity.

Awoo-lo-han,³ the patriarch who founded *Yih-sze-lō-nēe-keao*⁴ was the nineteenth descendant from *Pwan-Koo*, or *Atan*.⁵ From the beginning of the world the patriarchs have handed down the precept, that we must not make images and similitudes, and that we must not worship *Shin-Kwei*,⁶ for neither can images and similitudes protect, nor *Shin-Kwei* afford us aid.

The patriarch,⁷ thinking upon Heaven,⁸ the pure and ethereal being who dwells on high, the most honorable and without compare,—that Divine Providence who, without speaking, causes the four seasons to revolve and the myriad of things to grow;⁹ and looking at the budding Spring, the growth of Summer, the ingathering of harvest, and the storing of winter,—at the objects that fly, dive, move and vegetate, whether they flourish or decay, bloom or droop, all so easy and natural in their productions and transformations, in their assumptions of form and color¹⁰,—was suddenly roused to reflection, and understood this deep

1) In the commentary on this tablet, when words and phrase that appear in the preceding tablet are repeated, I frequently refrain purposely from commenting a second time.—A. K. G.

This tablet deals mainly with Jewish *history* and the *externals* of religion.

2) i.e. the Jewish temple at Kai-fung-foo.

3) Abraham.

4) i.e. Israel religion.

5) There is a positive identification, on the part of the Jews, of *Adam* with the Chinese mythological personages, the giant *Pwan-koo*, the first being on earth in the Chinese mythology. We see here again how eager the Jews were to blend their religion and customs with those of the Chinese, though they kept clear of idolatrous customs to a wonderful extent.

6) *Shin-Kwei*. I prefer to render the two Chinese characters as *gods* and *spirits*, and thus would make the Chinese read *Shin* and *Kwei*.

7) Abraham.

8) From what follows Heaven must here mean our *God*.

9) There is here a conception of *Deity* or *Jehorah* in no wise antagonistic with the Old Testament.

10) All these aspects of Nature were very prominent in the reign of Kae-

mystery.¹¹ He then sincerely sought after the correct instruction and adoringly praised the true Heaven, with his whole heart he served, and with undivided attention reverenced Him. By this means he set up the foundation of religion and caused it to be handed down to the present day.

This¹² happened, according to our inquiry,¹³ in the 146th year of the *Chow* state.¹⁴ From him the doctrines were handed down to the great teacher and legislator *May-she*,¹⁵ who, according to our computation, lived about the 613th year of the same state.¹⁶

fung-foo, where the Jews had settled. This valley of the *Hoang-ho* mas, and still is, the most fertile part of China, and terms with many forms of animal life.

11) i.e. Abraham. We most certainly discern here the belief of the Jews, that Abraham was *inspired* by Heaven with the beginnings of the revelation of divine truth, though the whole paragraph presupposes the previous possession, on the part of Abraham, of a naturally deep religious nature that caused him to "think upon Heaven." He, however, "understood this deep mystery" by a sudden *inspiration*.

12) i.e. this *revelation* and *establishment of the true religion*.

13) Those who erected this tablet were evidently careful in their statements and made searching "inquiry" before inscribing these things on marble.

14) If we suppose that the Jews of China had retained clear views of their past national history, (and I think they had), we must refer this *Chow state* to the small state of that name that flourished between the years 2254 a.c. and 1817 b.c. (see *Shang-hae* pamphlet 968).—ADDIT. NOTE. There is here a misapprehension, as there was no *Chow state* existing in 2254—1817 b.c., and as a fact, the name of *Chow* was not taken before the year 1325. What happened was this. The *Chow* claimed for their first ancestor *Hou tsih*, the husbandry officer of *Shun*, whose reign began in 2254 b.c. His descendants retired amongst the barbarian tribes of the west until 1817 (or 1796) b.c., when they reappeared under the leadership of *Kung lew*, and settled at *Pin*, in *Shensi*, on the borders of the Chinese lands. "It was from this time that the principles of the *Chow* dynasty began to flourish." (Cf. W.H. Medhurst, *The Shoo King*, pp. 335, 347, 357; and J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, tV. 2). Now the text refers, not to a *Chow Kwoh* or *Chow state* but, to the *Chow Chao* or *Chow court*, reign or dynasty, and therefore could not apply to anything before the event of 1817 b.c. These dates are those of the common chronology in vogue since the *Sung* dynasty (XIth cent.) and therefore may have been used by the Chinese Jews of the XVth century.—T. de L.

15) Moses.

16) The *Chow* State began its independent existence about 2254 b.c. The 613th year from that would have been 1641 b.c. This tablet then places Moses about 1641 b.c.

A. K. GLOVER.

(To be continued).

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

INSCRIPTION OF NERIGLISSAR.

THE short reign of Nergal sar usur, the son of Bel sum iskun, who revolted against Amil Marduk or Evil-Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, is one upon which the monuments have afforded as yet but little information. Until the discovery of the cylinder of which I here give a translation, only one inscription, that upon a cylinder in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, was known and published (I.R. 67). The cylinder here translated is in the collection of Miss E. Ripley, and the text has been published by Mr. E. A. W. Budge in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology 1888. This text differs considerably from that of the Cambridge cylinder, and throws much light upon the history of the king. According to Josephus (C.A. p. I. 30) Nergal-sar-usur is to be identified with Nergal Sharezer, the Rab-Mag of the book of Jeremiah, and was one of the officials who took a prominent part in the siege of Jerusalem.

In the Ripley cylinder, as in the Cambridge text, the prince calls himself the son of *Bel-sum-iskun* (Bel has established a name), to whom he gives the title of *rubu emga* "wise prince," similar to that given by Našonidus to his father, *Nabu-balat su-ikbi*; but in the Cambridge text he speaks of his father as "king of Babylon" (*šar Babili*), a title to which he certainly had no right. This variation is all the more apparent when we notice the humble way in which the king speaks of himself in this cylinder, and the direct reference he makes to his former lonely position: *Istu miškhiruti ya isaris zatbani*, "from my insignificance wisely he took me," and again he speaks of himself as chosen from the people. The prince probably had royal blood in his veins, and according to Greek writers he married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar: and it may be upon

his ground that the priestly scribes who wrote the Cambridge cylinder call his father king of Babylon. That Nergal sar uşur, the son of Bel sum-iskun, was a person of some considerable importance in the city of Babylon, is proved by the occurrence of his name in the contract tablets of the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Evil-Merodach. In the thirty-fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 571, eleven years before his own accession, he appears as party to a contract, and must therefore have been of full age, and in a despatch written in the Month Ab. in the second year of Evil-Merodach, only a few months before his revolt, we read: "the letters he sealed (*sipri iknuk*) and to Nergal sar uşur, song of Bel sum is kum he gave." His position was probably that of a high official connected with the reigning house by marriage.

The work which the king undertook was the restoration of the great altar platform, enclosed by gates and approached by steps (*sippu*), situated on the north side of the temple. Here were offered the daily sacrifices (*satukki*), and the love offering (*siddim*), and sun offering (*Khidutim*). The temple altar had fallen into decay, the brickwork was broken, the joints cracked and foundation sunk. All of these the king repaired, and added gates and steps to the enclosure. The inscription contains many words of great interest which I deal with in the notes.

TRANSCRIPTION.

- 1 Nergal-şırra-uşur sar Babili
- 2 Rubām nāda migir Il Marduk
- 3 Ašru kanša palikh beli belani
- 4 emgam mūtnienū
- 5 mušte'u ašratim Il Nabu bel-šu
- 6 išakku zaninum
- 7 babil igisē rabūtim
- 8 ana Bit Sagila u Bit Zida
- 9 mudakhid šattukku
- 10 muštesiru šulakhkoi šan
- 11 Apal DP, Bel-šum-is kun rubu emga
- 12 idlu gitmalum naşir
- 13 mazartim Bit Sagila u Babili
- 14 ša kima duri dannu pani matim idlu anaku
- 15 Ni-num Il Marduk Bel ilani
- 16 rubu muštali

17 Abkallu **ša** libbi (II) Igigi kalamu mudu
 18 ina nisi **ša** rapsatim istannima
 19 istu miškhirutiya isaris zabtani
 20 **šum** tabi lu imbanī
 21 ašri šalmi u balaṭa lū irnitiddanni
 22 ana isaruti **ya** **ša** gagadai izzušu
 23 ana kanšutī **ya** **ša** kainum
 24 pulukhtim iluti **šu** aste' u
 25 **ša** eli **šu** tabi ebišu umi sam atamū
 26 ippalsaanni ma ina matim
 27 **šum** damga ana šarrutim izkur
 28 ana riutim niši **ša** ana daira ebišu
 29 khattu isarti murabbisat matu
 30 ana šarruti **ya** tn isruķam
 31 sibirri kīnu mušallim nisi
 32 ana bilut tu ikibim
 33 ušpari mukanniš za'iru
 34 lu ušatunikhā gatua
 35 aga kinu ušāšannima
 36 ana sarniti **ya** šanīnu u mugallitu
 37 ana arazabī ina gimil zamanu

COL. II.

38 la magiri kalisuna alud
 39 mišari ina matim astakkān
 40 niši **ya** rabšatim ina šulmi artani'e
 41 Ina umi **šu** ana Il Marduk Ilu ban nimiķi
 42 **ša** ina Igigi šurbatim
 43 Ina Anunaki šutugat bilut su
 44 palkhis atta'īd-ma
 45 ~~š̄r̄~~ ~~š̄r̄~~ makkir Bit Sagila mikhrat (IM) Iltannu
 46 **ša** ramkutim kinisti Bit Sagila
 47 ramu u kirib **ša**
 48 **ša** šar maklhi ušši-**ša** idduma
 49 la ullu rieši **ša**
 50 ina tamlu ištabbilu ma
 51 inuša igara **šu**
 52 riksati **ša** la dunnunum.
 53 sippusu la kunnunum

54 iššakan ana ullulu šulukhkhu zananati
 55 taklimui bili rabu Il Murduk
 56 ana ubbubimma sullumu ūattukku
 57 siddim u khititum ana la subsi
 58 temuni ūa labiri akhit abrima
 59 eli temimimani ūa labiri ukin uššišu
 60 uzakkir milasu ulā khursanio
 61 sippusu ukinna ina babi ūa
 62 irta dalati
 63 kisa dannim ina kupri
 64 u agurri usakhir
 65 Il Marduk bil ūurbi etellu ūiri
 66 kabti sitrakhnu nur ilani abiema
 67 libit gatiya ūukutum
 68 khadis naplisuna
 69 balaṭam umi arkutim sibie littutu
 70 kunn kussi u labari palie
 71 ana ūeriktim ūrkam
 72 ina kibitika kitti ūa la nakari
 73 D.P. Nergal-šarra-uşur lu sarru zaninu
 74 muste'u ašratika
 75 ana dur dara anaku

TRANSLATION.

1 Neriglissar, King of Babylon,
 2 The glorious prince, the favourite of Merodach,
 3 Humble, submissive worshipper of the lord of lords,
 4 Wise, pious :
 5 Adoring the shrine of Nebo his lord;
 6 The maintaining prince:
 7 Heaper up of offerings:
 8 Ponrer out of great gifts:
 9 To Bit Sagila, and Bit Lida.
 10 Directing in person their ceremonies:
 11 Son of Bel-sum-iskum, the wise prince,
 12 The perfect hero, the guardian
 13 Of the watches of Bit-Sagil and Bit Lida.
 14 Who like a mighty tower in front of the land is guard.
 15 When Merodach, the lord of the gods
 16 The gentle prince,
 17 The counsellor of the hearts of the Igigi, perfect in wisdom.
 18 From among a wide-spread people designated me,
 19 From my insignificance wisely he took me,
 20 By a holy name then he proclaimed me.

21 To a position of peace and health then,
 22 To the justice of head he appointed it.
 23 To my obedience which is everlasting.
 24 For the worship of his divinity I devised.
 25 That which before him seemed good I did, each day I communed
 (with him).
 26 He looked upon me in the land
 27 By a favourable name to sovereignty he proclaimed.
 28 To the princedom of men which to all time he has made.
 29 A sceptre of justice, enlarging the land
 30 To my majesty he presented.
 31 A weapon establishing salvation among men
 32 To lordship then he proclaimed
 33 A sword subduing the hostile ones
 34 Then in my hand he caused to grasp.
 35 A legitimate crown he established
 36 To my majesty a rival or traitor was not
 37 To consume into the enemy.
 38 The unrighteous all of them I punished.
 39 Justice in the land I myself established:
 40 My wide-spread people in peace I ruled:
 41 In that time also to Merodach the maker of wisdom:
 42 Who among the Igigi spreads abroad his word.
 43 And among the Anunaki, makes form his dominion,
 44 Reverently I drew near in praise.
 45 The former altar of Bit Sagila facing the North
 46 Where the obedient oblations of Bit Sagila
 47 Raised within it
 48 Which a former king its foundations had placed
 49 And had not raised its head.
 50 Recently had fallen down and
 51 Its brickwork become weak,
 52 Its bonding was not strong,
 53 Its steps were not firm.
 54 It was appointed (me) to raise the walls anew.
 55 My great lord Merodach trusted me
 56 To make bright the completion of the sacrifice
 57 Of freewill and sin not to be omitted
 58 Its old foundation record I dug for and read
 59 Over its old foundation record I placed its foundation,
 60 And set up its height as a mountain,
 61 Its steps I placed with its doors,
 62 I added also the doors,
 63 Its strong mass with bitumen
 64 And brick work I encircled.
 65 Merodach the mighty lord, the supreme hero.
 66 Noble powerful light of the gods I made and
 67 The construction of my hands speak joyfully
 68 Regarding it.
 69 A life of far reaching days, grey hairs (and) children.
 70 Establishment of throne, and an ancient reign

71 For an endowment givest thou.
 72 By thy just command, which changes not.
 73 Neriglissar the King, the nourisher,
 74 The proclaimer of shrines,
 75 To everlasting time I am he.

NOTES—

Line 4. *Mūtniennu*, “reverent or pious”, compare its use in Asbp. V. R. 7, 95. *Yati Aššur-bani apla šangu ellu risu mutniennu*. “Myself Assurbanipal the holy priest, the pure leader.”

l. 5. *Muste'a*, “Seeker,” from See line 24.

l. 7. *igisi* “gifts” compare, Shal. Ob. 106, *igisi šunu amtakhar*, “their gifts I received,” also V.R. 34, 16, *bibil igisi rabati*, “pourer out of great gifts.”

l. 9. *Sattuku* “Daily sacrifices,”—from the Akkad *SA. DAGGA*, “heart pleasing.”

l. 10. *šulukkhū* “ceremonies,” Pognon, Wady Brissa 85, renders “libation.” Compare rather Cyrus cylinder line 7, *la tabšutu šal khutim* “in unlawful ceremonies.”

l. 11. In Cambridge Cylinder the title *šar Babilī* is inserted.

l. 19. *Miškhiruti* “littleness, obscurity,” Part. from *šakharu* “to be small.” *Isaris* adverbial derivative from *asaru* “to be straight, just.” See *šaruti* line 22.

l. 24. Literally “which before him did good” *atamu* from *tamu* to speak commune, compare Nabonid. Sip. I. 23. *Palkhis at·ma* “reverently I spoke.”

l. 36. *Mugallitu*=*Mukallitu* from *šalulu* “shame,” or perhaps a borrowed word from the magical vocabulary as *gallu* “demon.”

l. 53. *Sippu*. It has some meaning of step or threshold.

l. 57. *Šiddim*: From *sadadu*, “to love,” See Delitzsch, Assy. & Heb. Lex. p. 30. *Khititim* the “Sin offering.” the Heb. *Khattathim*.

l. 63. *Kisa*. Connected with *kussu* “seat.”

l. 69. *Sibe littutu*, “Grey hairs and offspring.” See S. A. Smith Keils, Asbp. p. 32.

is explained by *lanu* and *igaru* meaning a brick construction probably a platform. See Scheil, B.O.R., Vol. V., p. 10.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

SHANG-T'SING-TSING-KING,
THE BOOK OF CONSTANT PURITY AND REPOSE.

The *Shang-t'sing-tsing-king* is after the *Tao-te-king* the most vaunted work of the philosophical school of Tao. We are expected to believe this of it, that it is not the product of human intelligence. Spirits only could have conceived and executed it. Its author is no other than the famous genius *Si-wang-mu*.¹ "the royal Mother of the West." Having composed it, *Si-wang-mu* communicated it to the "Genius of the celestial Gate," *Kin-kiue-ti-kiun*. The latter transmitted it to the Genius of the Flowers of the East, *Tong-hoa-ti-kiun*, who made a gift of it to *Tao-sse Ko-kong*. Thus the profound respect with which that book inspired the experts of Tao, had given it a place in the great Taoist Encyclopedia of the viith century, immediately after the sacred manual of the divine *Lao-kiun*, or *Tao-te-king*.

It is for that reason we place it there, in common with the doctors of the Taoist sect.

Nevertheless that is not our only reason. The *Shang-t'sing-tsing-king* well deserves the honour which has been given to it. For in our eyes it is perhaps the best production of the philosophic genius of the Chinese. It alone among the manuals of its kind, contains the methodic and complete exposition of the great principles of a philosophic system quite reasonable. So in spite of its narrow limits, we believe we ought to give it a place of honour in our choice of Taoist texts, and direct to it very particularly the attention of our readers.

We are no doubt unable to see in it the work of a celestial genius; but we find in it the work of a man of good sense and reflection, who has extracted a very good portion of the ideas in which he had been inculcated by his masters. This author, quite human, was called *Ko-kiuen*, and lived in the iiird century before our era. That is nearly all we know of him. His book has been placed in the great Encyclopedia of which we have spoken above, and is commented upon by *Tong-tchang*, the exegete of the *Tao-te-king*.² It is there that we have had to seek for him.

Neumann has given a lithographed edition of it with translation and notes.³ It is unnecessary to say that this first essay has not attained perfection. The *Tao-te-king* was hardly known then, and the skill of this

appendix to the great work, ought to be perceived on a comparison with the uncertainty of other gropings in the dark.

Neumann has translated the title: "A Book treating of spirit and of matter," (*Buch ueber Geist und Materie,*) or "Book of the eternal Spirit and of eternal Matter." These terms render the text very imperfectly, or rather very badly, and compel us to attribute to the author ideas which are not his.

He deals, in reality, not with spirit and matter, nor with two fundamental principles, but with the conditions of the moral perfections of the human soul, its purity and repose, inward calm, and the absence of the movement of the passions.

Literally *shang* would mean "permanent, of a constant duration," *t'sing* is "purity, light :" *tsing* is the perfect repose of the heart." The whole has then the meaning we are about to give it.

It is equally erroneous to render *Tao* by "reason" and his disciples by "rationalists." It is, at least, to produce an equivocal expression which may engender an essential error. *Tao* is the principal and eternal intelligence, productress of the beings whom it enlightens and not that which we call "reason."

The *Shang-t'sing-tsing-king* has a specially moral aim which its title indicates, and all its contents are arranged to elucidate the terms which compose the title and which are at the same time the last in the book.

We know the value of these two terms. Purity is the condition in which the soul follows its own nature and its impulses and is not mixed up with any outward thing which occupies it with images and desires. Repose is the state of the heart which no passion or desire agitates, which outward objects do not trouble with any attraction.

Our work is divided into two parts, the one ontological, the other moral, like the *Tao-te-king*. The first treats of the origin of things, the second of virtue. A considerable number of phrases are taken from the manual of the school, many are also proper to the author of the *Shang-t'sing-tsing-king*. But the whole is put into the mouth of the patriarch of the school, as is the custom among the Chinese philosophers. Thus the complete title is *Tui-shang-Lao-kun-shwo-shang*, &c. that is to say, "words of the very great Lao-tze." But we must not give to our preliminaries more extension than to the principal subject, and let us see this system to which we believe we ought to give unaccustomed praise.

Here then is the translation; but before that, let us sum up the system of which our book is the most succinct exposition.

RESUME OF THE SYSTEM.

I. *Ontology*.—The infinite and eternal intelligence produces, moves, and contains all beings. In it and by it are the two secondary principles which form, by their combination, all the special beings. Heaven and the male element belong to the first : earth and the female element belong to the second ; man reunites these in himself. These two principles are that of activity, of light, and that of repose, of obscurity. Heaven and earth contain all the contingent beings and their transformations ; there is nothing beyond. The principle of the movement is the source of that which gives repose.

It is like a wave which rises to fall : the upheaval of the water is the principle of its falling and of its tendency to repose.

II. *Morale*.—The mind and the heart tend to the intellectual and are by themselves, in repose, exempt from the motion of the desires ; but the outward objects excites its desires, then the passions agitate it and engender numerous evils. Man ought to resist and repress them ; if not, he will be in trouble and pain. To master its passions, enjoying internal repose, he looks on his exterior, his body, as external beings, and considers them as not belonging to him, and not seen by him except by abstraction.

Virtue consists in purity, the absence of all mixture, of all alteration of nature and in the calm interior. True virtue is ignorant of itself ; he who possesses Tao does not know it.

Tao is acquired by nature, not by superadded efforts. He who understands it has perfect virtue : internal and constant purity and calm.

NOTES—

1) *Si-Wang-mu* inhabits the mountains of Kuen-lun, and reigns there over numerous genii. The emperor Mu-wang of the Tcheous had an interview with her during an expedition to the West. The Taoists, have laid hold of this to make her one of the principal genii of their sect. She possesses a peach-tree whose fruits which she distributes confer immortality. The origin of this divinity is not Chinese, but it is as yet unknown.

2) Or rather by *Si-Tao-shun* of the Mings.

3) *Lehrsaal des Mittelreiches*; S. 17 ff.

THE BOOK OF CONSTANT VIRTUE AND CALMNESS.

FIRST PART.—ONTOLOGY.

Lao-kiun says : The supreme Tao,¹ although without form,² produces and develops heaven and earth.³ Without internal movement,⁴ it sets

in motion and causes the sun and the moon to revolve. Without name,⁵ the supreme Tao causes to subsist and maintains all beings. I do not know its name; constrained, I call it Tao.⁶ Tao possesses the luminous principle of purity and the obscure principle. It possesses the principle of motion and that of repose.⁹ Heaven is active (gives the movement). The earth is in repose (and gives it).

The male element¹⁰ is luminous ; the female element is obscure. The first is active : the second gives repose.

Producing¹¹ the essence and diffusing the qualities (Tao) gives being to all things.

The luminous principle is the source of the obscure principle ; motion is the basis of repose.¹²

Man can possess purity and constant repose. Heaven and earth comprehend all the destinies¹³ of beings.

The mind of man loves what is intellectual and pure ; but his heart troubles and inconveniences him. The heart of man naturally loves repose; but his desires constrain him to action.¹⁴

When men can constantly reject desires, the heart is in peace by itself. When the heart is kept pure, the mind is pure of itself. By their proper nature, then, the six passions¹⁵ are not born: the three poisons¹⁶ grow less and disappear.

He who cannot do this is not yet pure in his heart; his passions are not yet dispersed. He who knows how to free himself, knows in his own bosom how to look on his heart naked; and that heart is not his heart.¹⁷ On the outside, he sees his corporeal form, and that form is not his form: further off he sees its objects, and these things are not its things to him.

For those three things in knowledge and reflection cannot be seen except by abstraction.¹⁸ He sees this abstraction, and thus he is abstracted; but this abstraction is not a void. Emptiness is nothing, and nothing multiplied by nothing is nothing still. Nothing is nothing; it certainly is nothing.

Through perfect calm is constant repose; but this repose is not absolute rest.¹⁹ Only the desires are no longer born. When the desires are no longer born, then there is perfect repose.

When we conduct ourselves perpetually and with perfect correctness, we do that which the nature of beings demands, then we require a heart whose nature is constantly right and pure.²⁰ This perpetual correspondence (produces) perpetual repose (perfect internal calm).²¹ It is

purity and constant repose. When this is so, purity and perfect repose make one enter little by little into the path of perfect uprightness. When one enters there, he is reputed to have attained the perfect wisdom, Tao. But although he be reputed such, in reality he has not attained to it.²² When one knows how to produce the different transformations of living beings,²³ one is reputed to know how to attain to Tao. Those who know how to discourse of these things according to truth, can teach and transmit the Tao of the holy ones.

SECOND PART.—OF VIRTUE.

Lao-kiun says: The higher literati do not argue. The lower literati love to argue.²⁴

Lofty virtue is not virtue (distinct),²⁵ or Inferior virtue is (reputed) virtue. Those who consider things according to truth never speak the names of Tao or of virtue.²⁶

What is the cause that living beings do not all obtain the perfect way is because they have their hearts troubled. When the heart is troubled, their understanding is set into disorderly motion. When people have their understanding troubled thus, it considers the case of all beings.²⁷ This considerstion causes the desire of material benefits to arise, and and through them, pain and grief. Those trouble reflections, sadden trouble the body and the heart, and cause man to fall into vice and shame.

Life and death succeed each other like the billows of the ocean. Perpetually (beings plunge) into the sea of grief,²⁸ and lose the path of eternal reason.

The true and eternal Tao, those who consider and comprehend it, acquire it through themselves.²⁹ When they have reached this, (they have attained) purity and perpetual repose.³⁰

NOTES—

- 1) Supreme intelligence, the supreme principle. “Principle of action” is the most ancient moral sense of the word *Tao*; it is that of the old Kings.
- 2) Spiritual being, principle.
- 3) These two words describe the whole universe.
- 4) *Lit.*: without passion.
- 5) And not “without being.” This translation of Neumann gives a false idea of the rest.
- 6) A phrase taken from the *Tao-te-King*. We can easily observe the differencesand the similarities.
- 7) They are his, dependent on him, in their existence and activity; but they are not *in* or *of* his essence.
- 8) *Prop.* : soiled, filthy.
- 9) That which puts in movement and that which stops it; that which

places in repose, immobility.

10) *Lit.*: the man, the male; the woman. It is not spoken of the man completely formed, but of his principle only.

11) *Lit.*: causing to descend from above.—The root and the branches, a figure consecrated by use.

12) According to theories expounded elsewhere and supposed here, the repose originated when the principle of the movement is momentarily exhausted; the impure, the trouble originated when the light has accomplished its movement.

13) "The returns." Man after his life and, in general, the beings after their distinct existence, return to the source of being. The spirit of man returns to heaven, and his body, as material beings, goes to the earth.

14) The heart of man is, by itself, pure and in repose. External things enter there by the mind, the perception, and excite there certain desires which trouble it. The mind belongs to the higher principle; the heart, the source of the passions, to the inferior principle. The mind being of itself pure, and the passions no longer troubling it, it is perfectly pure.

15) These passions are, joy, anger, fear, love, hatred, and desire.

16) Moral poisons: viz., cupidity, anger, intellectual blindness or madness.

17) That which falls directly under the obversation is not the object observed *in se*, but a representation, an abstraction.

18) This abstraction is not the object itself, but it is no longer nothing; it is a real and faithful representation.

19) This repose is not the destruction of the movement in itself, but only that of the movement by the action of the exterior. The natural movement proceeding from the heart itself is not destroyed.

20) It is the first thing exacted; to follow the nature, and not to add anything to it, is the "do-nothing" of the *Tao-te-king*.

21) Or rather: this perpetual correspondence and material repose constitute purity, &c.

22) That is not sufficient, it requires besides what follows it.

23) When one knows how to act upon beings in such a way as to make them pass through the whole cycle of their natural vicissitudes, then one attains the principle of all things.

24) Seeks to excel it in power, wisdom, &c. This is borrowed from the *Tao-te-sing*.

25) Beginning of the *Tao-te-sing*, second part. Perfect virtue does not know even itself, and does not even name itself. From the moment it knows itself it falls to an inferior rank.

26) To name them, to render account of themselves, to believe to possess them is to lose them. Evil not existing, virtue is not known as such. It has not express goodness in it, because it has no wickedness in it.

27) Desires cause ideas to be produced; ideas make known, and desired external things and internal satisfactions.

28) *In hac lacrymarum valle.* Griefs of which mention is being made.

29) And not by efforts.

30) Term and end of the treatise.

C. DE HARLEZ.

THE P'U YAO KING :

A FRAGMENT OF THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA.

(Translated by the late Prof. Dr. S. Beal.)

(Continued from p. 203).

Now whilst these words were being chanted forth, an infinite number of Devas and Spirits arrived at a knowledge of the Highest and Truest Wisdom (Anuttara Samyak Sambodhi).

Buddha addressed all the Bhikshus and said:

“Bodhisatva having cleansed himself by the river side, and finished his meal of rice and milk, knowing that his strength was thereby renewed, went forward towards the tree of Buddha; and as he went to sit beneath this royal tree, he moved in the manner prescribed by the Law, without any wavering steps, but firm as a mountain he moved, with no mincing gait, with no unbecoming strides, but with steady and dignified steps, with no hard mien or hasty pace, but softly and evenly he went; glorious in appearance as the sun, radiant with light the true one advanced illustriously, free from all pollution, his mind occupied with thoughts respecting the glorious march (or the same course) of previous Buddhas towards the Lion House, with no confused thoughts (or nature) he went, separating all evil associations, his mind entirely at peace, firm in his resolve to defeat the power of Mara, and to carry out his purpose to destroy all erroneous teaching, and to lead men to accept the true doctrine, to root up the very causes of renewed birth and death, to do away with all discordant schools of teaching, such as the worship of Sakra, Brahma, the four kings, and so on,—with his heart profoundly fixed on the means of destroying the consequences of enmity and hatred, penetrating to the innermost secrets of wisdom, his mind undivided and perfectly composed, thoroughly resolved from first to last to overcome all evil desire, all covetous purposes, to destroy the four evils, without personal aim, with no fear, resolved to pass over to that shore; there it was he advanced from the river side towards the tree of Buddha, where he proposed to take his seat. Being thus purposed, the Devas caused a wide and magnificent road to appear, and on each side of the road they placed balustrades composed of the seven precious substances very beautiful to behold and in height four “chang” (1 chang=141 inches and a fifth. Above these rails were open work trellis passing through the various pinnacles of the rail, all made of the precious substances. Then there were heavenly canopies and flags placed at intervals along the course

and seven rows of precious (Talas) trees of beautiful height and proportion between the trees a jewelled net-work, and between every row tanks of water with golden sands, and covered with lotus flowers of every colour and description, whilst on the four sides of the trees were crystal rails, shining like the bright moon, whilst birds uttered their various notes from the branches. Amidst all were 8000 Apasaras who sprinkled scented waters, and swept the path clear from all impurities; and two myriads of other female attendants who hung up on every side jewelled wreaths, and scattered every kind of heavenly flower; between the trees the ground was composed of a combination of the seven precious substances, whilst eight myriads of female attendants (stood at intervals along the course), each holding in her hand offerings of food, and with scented woods of every kind in golden pitchers they stood along the raised esplanades, 5000 along each of these raised terraces [i.e. 500 along each course of trees, 8 courses on each side of the way], some waving their censers, and others sounding forth every sort of heavenly music.

Buddha said: "Thus, Oh Bikhshus! Bodhisatva desiring to go forward to sit beneath the tree of Buddha found the road fully adorned and prepared; and as he came to the river bank all his thoughts were engaged in (meditating on the principles of) the Great Vehicle, and how as he entered on the road he would do what might perfect the condition of a Buddha. At this time a thousand Brahma Deva rājas spoke to the assembly of the Brahma devas (Brahma kayikas) of his (or, their) religious merit, that it should be manifested in its fulness, and that they all should further exercise themselves in the qualities (traces) of a Brahma life by practising love, compassion, joy-thoughts, equanimity (upeksha) dhyana and the spiritual powers of irrdhi, with a view to make their offerings to the great path during thousands of Kalpas to come; and now, they said, going to the tree of Buddha, let us all make our offerings there to him, who is preparing (to enter in the profession of supreme wisdom) with the intention in our worship of being freed from all fear, and completely devoid of anxiety about the eight calamities, that we may be continually born in heaven, or in one of the worlds where a Buddha is living, or among the Brahma devas of such a world. Then the Brahma devas hearing of Bodhisatva's six years' fast, and that he was now going to the tree of Buddha, all agreed with joyous hearts to go and offer their presents to Bodhisatva, the great religious master of the thousand worlds (Chilioeom).

Then Sakradevarāja, and Brahma, and Suryadeva, and Chandradeva and the four kings, going to the River side to make their respectful offerings; and now the minds of all who dwelt in the different lands of Buddha

were engaged in meditation, thns, "how then he is going forward to take his seat beneath the tree of Buddha, he will subdue Māra, how infinite his height, reaching up to the very Brahma Heaven, how ineffable his glory, rendering it impossible to see the distinguishing marks which beautify his person, thirty two in number; his words and his voice how sweet and free from all impurities, excelling even the voice of Brahma; he is now going to seat himself beneath the tree, let us go and worship his invincible strength of purpose, Sakra and Brahma perceiving this intention of theirs suddenly caused by their supernatural power (manifestation of accumulated merits) all their countless hosts to appear, coming thus to pay their services to Bodhistva.

Buddha addressed the Bhikshus and said, "There was one Brahmadeva called 'San-tsin-kin-lih' who beheld all these worlds of the Great Chilio-cosm as one vast field, level as the palm of the hand, beautifully illuminated, and on this vast field he caused to appear soft blue grass on every side like the garments of the Devas, and thus this grass was spread on every side throughout the vast chilio-cosm, and in no part was there any roughness or impediment; in the Eastern region of this vast field, Sakra, Brahma and the four Kings and innumerable Bodhisatvas from innumerable worlds of Buddha came to offer their sacrifices, and so on the Northern side, and the other cardinal points, the half points, and from the Zenith and Nadir, came innumerable Sakra rajas, Brahma, four Kings, shining with glory, to offer their tribute; meanwhile all the mountain ranges that surround these worlds, the great iron range that surrounds each chilio-cosm, and all the mountains throughout all these worlds suddenly disappeared, and their place was not known, but only the persons of the vast conourse of Bodhisatvas were seen surrounding the land of Buddha, together with all the Devaputras. Again, there were sixteen attendants who personally followed Bodhisatva; their names were these: *Chán-tsun* Bodhisatva,¹ *Wou-tsun* Bodhisatva, *Shi-u* Bodhisatva, *Vi-king* Bodhisatva, *Yung-lih* Bodhisatva, *Fut-mang* Bodhisatva, *Shen-chu* Bodhisatva, *Tsung-chi* Bodhisatva, *Chau-yen* Bodhisatva, *Fa-wan* Bodhisatva, *Fa-ying* Bodhisatva, *Kih-in* Bodhisatva, *Pah-hai-yen* Bodhisatva, *Ta-tsing* Bodhisatva, *Tsing-yan* Bodhi-

1) The following will be the restoration of these names as far as can be gathered from the Lalita Vistara (Foucaux) p. 267; Utkali, Mutkali (the Chinese words signify "turning and advancing," and "without advancing"), Danapati (?) [certainly not *Prajāpati*, as in the Thibetan], but more (probably *Sudāna*), *Reverence loring*(?), Surabala, Keyurabala, Supratashita, Mahindhara, Avabhaskara, *flower-garland* (which can hardly be converted into Kinala), Dharmesvara, *the fortunate*, Apratibatanetra, Mahasuddha (*great purity*, not *great exercise*, as in the Thibetan), *perfectly pure* (perhaps *Kimala*), Silavisuddhanetra.

satva, *Kiai-tsing* Bodhisatva. These sixteen and all the Devaputras surrounding Bodhisatva, all possessed of invincible determination, arrived at the point of perfect patience (patience of the Law), all came to offer their gifts, and to beautify the enclosure of Bôdhi (Bodhimanda). Levelling the space around for 3200 *lis*, they placed circularly about it beautiful seven-rowed balustrades, seven rows of Talas trees (*hing shü*; but in all Chinese descriptions this is rendered by Talas-tree), seven rows of trellis work, seven rows of precious (gem-like) turrets, all composed of the purest red gold and all kinds of connecting drapery, innumerable in description; on every side gem-like flowers sprang up of themselves, whilst every kind of costly incense was burning (in censers); above in the midst of space, there was spread a precious canopy covering the four quarters, whilst all the precious trees which all the earths of Buddha produced, with the fruits and flowers thereof, with the Devas and the people thereof, appeared at the Bodhimanda, and so all the flowers, and whatever ornaments were found around the various Bodhimandas of these innumerable worlds, all these appeared in the neighbourhood of the sacred enclosure of the tree of Buddha.

Thus then these Devaputras and the vast assembly of attendants surrounding them decorated the Bodhi Tree, and rendered it perfectly pure. And now all the Devas, Nâgas, Yakihas (Kwei-shin) Gandharvas, the Asuras inhabiting their various beautifully adorned palaces in all the remote portions of space where they dwelt, all of them beholding this costly array, exclaimed in astonishment, "Well done! Well done! how vast and inconceivable the religious merit (which can obtain such a reward)!"

And now there are four Devas who in obedience to the Tree-spirit, proceed to decorate the tree itself; the first was named foot-trace (*tsuh-tsih*), the second large-dish (*p'in-tau*), the third good-thought (*Sumana*), the fourth scattered-essence (*pu-tsing*); these four undertake the task of decorating the tree; they perfect in every way the roots, branches, leaves, flowers thereof; around the tree they place beautiful balustrades, to the height of 80 lis, splendid and graceful beyond description, innumerable (or immeasurable in size), the branches of the tree they hang with every precious kind of streamer in which all the seven kinds of precious substances combine to perfect its character; all around the tree they construct devices (marks) as in the Trayastrinshat heaven, for ways of approach, so that whoever beheld it would never tire in admiration thereof, unequalled throughout the universe, whilst beneath the tree appeared of itself a seat hard and imperishable as diamond, on which Bodhisatva might take his seat when about to perfect Supreme Wisdom.

(*To be continued*).

THE TABLET INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHINESE JEWS
DISCOVERED AT KAI-FUNG FU (CHINA) IN 1850.

(Continued from p. 212).

TABLET OF 1488,

Tablet recording the re-building of the Temple of Truth and Purity. (cont.)

This man (Moses) was intelligent from his birth, pure and disinterested, endowed with benevolence and righteousness, virtue and wisdom, all complete.

He sought and obtained the Sacred Writings on the top of *Seih-na's* hill¹, where he fasted forty days and nights², repressing his casual desires, refraining even from sleep, and spending his time in Sincere devotion.³ His piety moved the heart of Heaven⁴, and the *Sacred Writings*, amounting to fifty-three sections⁵, were thus obtained. Their contents are deep and mysterious⁶, their promises calculated to influence men's good feelings⁷, and their threatenings to repress their corrupt imaginations.

The doctrines were again handed down to the time of the reformer of religion and wise instruction, *Ye-tsze-la*⁸, whose descent was reckoned from the *founder* of our religion⁹, and whose teaching contained the right clue to his instructions, i.e. the duty of honoring heaven by appropriate worship, so that he could be considered capable of unfolding the mysteries of the religion of our forefathers.¹⁰

1) i.e. Mount Sinai.

2) Ex. 24 : 18. (But no mention is made here of Moses "fasting"!)

3) This is more of a miniature paraphrase of the Biblical account of Moses in the Mount, than an exact reproduction, since these details of the forty days on the Mount are wanting in the Biblical account.

4) We have here a mere *anthropomorphic phrase*—a mere rhetorical figure, in "heart of Heaven."

5) This (*as stated in tablet of 1511*) was, and is the *Persian* division, the Western Jews dividing the Law into 54 sections.

6) "My thoughts are not your thoughts" (Is. 55 : 8).

7) In the Chinese-Jewish moral code, men in general have a degree of natural goodness ascribed to them.

8) Ezra.

9) This, of course, is not a fact. There was a tendency among the Jews to trace back every prominent man or woman to a revered patriarchal family, and these Chinese Jews are not free from this.

10) "Whose teaching contained the right clue to his instructions" is a

But religion must consist in the purity and truth of divine worship.¹ *Purity* refers to the Pure One, who is without mixture,² *truth* to the *Correct One*, who is without corruption.³ Worship consists in reverence, and in bowing down to the ground⁴.

Men, in their daily avocations, must not for a single moment forget Heaven, but at the hours of *four* in the morning, mid-day, and six in the evening, should thrice perform their adorations,⁵ which is the true principle of the religion of Heaven.

The form (of worship) observed by the virtuous men of antiquity was, first to *bathe*⁶ and wash their hands⁷, taking care at the same time to purify their hearts, and correct their senses⁸, after which they reverently approached Eternal Reason⁹ and the *Sacred Writings*. Eternal Reason is without form or figure, like the Eternal Reason of Heaven, exalted on high.

We will here endeavour to set forth the general course of divine worship in order¹⁰:—

peculiar phrase, and probably would convey the idea that Ezra's *method* and *style* of teaching were conducive to a clear understanding of his instructions about "honoring Heaven" &c.

- 1) There is here drawn a very distinct line between "religion" and morals. "Religion" is "divine Worship" in its "purity and truth."
- 2) i.e. God is the only object to be thought of as really *pure*, and in speaking of purity, we ought to think at once of this *divine* purity.
- 3) As with "purity," so with "truth." We ought not to think of truth, without thinking of Him who is the *Absolute Truth*.
- 4) Here "worship" is defined,—it is *inward* (reverence), and *outward* (bowing down). (As to *prostration* see *Josh. vii. 16.—Neh. viii. 6.*)
- 5) The regular daily devotions of the Jews from the most ancient times. (see *Psalm lv. 17.. Danl. vi. 10.*) The Biblical hours were as follows. 9 a.m. (*Acts ii. 15*), 12 m. (*Ps. lv. 17*), 3 p.m. (*Acts iii. 1—x. 3*).
- 6) In the temple at Jerusalem no priest could serve in the priests' court at the sacrifices, &c., without first bathing the whole body.
- 7) After the *general* bath (the washing of the whole body), only the feet and "hands" were required to be washed again during the day—but this was *necessary* each time the temple was entered for service by the priests. (Edersheim, *The Temple, its Ministry and Services* &c. p. 121.) The superintending priest at the Temple, when calling those on duty to prepare for the *casting of lots* for the morning sacrifice, said aloud: "All ye who have *washed* come and *cast lots.*." (*Mishnah= Tamid*, i. 1, 2.)
- 8) This may refer to what the Bible calls "afflicting the soul," i.e., sacrifice of the personal will. (see Smith's *Diet.*)
- 9) I cannot but see in this Eternal Reason something more than the *everlasting truth of God*. It seems here to be the *Divine Presence* (*Αόγος*). The editor of the original translations sees the *Logos* in every instance.
- 10) This refers to the worship by the *individual*, and not to the *whole course of* public worship.

First, the worshipper, bending his body,¹ does reverence to Eternal Reason², by which means he recognizes Eternal Reason as present, in such bending of the body: then standing up-right in the midst, without declining³, he does obeisance to Eternal Reason, by which means he recognizes Eternal Reason as standing in the midst. In stillness, maintaining his spirit, and silently praising, he venerates Eternal Reason, showing that he incessantly remembers Heaven; in motion, examining himself⁴, and lifting up his voice⁵, honors Eternal Reason, showing that the unfailingly remembers Heaven. This is the way in which our religion teaches us to look towards invisible space⁶ and perform our adorations. Retiring three spaces⁷ the worshipper gets suddenly to the rear, to show his reverence for the Eternal Reason who is behind him. Advancing five steps he looks on before, to show his reverence for the Eternal Reason who is in front of his person; he bows towards the *left*, reverencing Eternal Reason, whereby he admires the Eternal Reason, who is on his left; he bows towards the *right*, reverencing Eternal Reason, whereby he adores the Eternal Reason who is on his right, looking *up*, he reverences Eternal Reason, to show that he considers Eternal Reason as above him; looking *down*, he reverences Eternal Reason, to show that he considers Eternal Reason as close to him. At the close, he worships⁸ Eternal Reason

1) The Rabbins were very precise as to the details of individual worship, both for priests and people. As to "bending the body," the *Mishnah* enjoins that the *body be completely bent*, with care to avoid the appearance of bodily fatigue. This applies especially to worship in the synagogues. (comp. I. Saml. i. 26., Matth. vi. 5. (Edersheim,—"Jewish Social Life," p. 276.)

2) Here, and all through this description of worship, we must consider Eternal Reason to be the Divine Presence.

3) If this refers to worship in the temple at Kai-fung-foo, the person probably stood as in the temple at Jerusalem; i.e. facing the *Holy of Holies*. The *feet* according to the Rabbins, were to be placed close together, and the hands crossed over the breast. (Edersheim, *Temple, &c.* p. 127.) The worshipper was to "stand as a servant before his master, with all reverence and fear." (Edersheim, and Lightfoot *De Minis. Temp.*)

4) *i.e.* paying strict attention to his person.

5) *i.e.* either in prescribed formulae or free prayer—the latter especially in private devotion. In praying the hands were raised and spread, not folded.

6) *i.e.* towards no visible *object*, but towards *God*.

7) This "retiring three paces" and all that follows appear to be accretions from the Chinese ceremonies. I am not acquainted with any references in the Talmud to such ceremonies as these. Yet there is a Jewish idea through them all, since they are intended to show a faith in the omnipresence of Jehovah.

8) *i.e.* according to a previous commentary on "worship" (above), of this

son, manifesting reverence in this act of adoration,

But to venerate Heaven and to neglect Ancestors, is to fail in the services which are their due.¹ In Spring and Autumn,² therefore, men sacrifice³ to their ancestors, to show that they serve the dead, as they do the living, and pay the same respect to the departed that they do to those who survive. They offer sheep and oxen, and present the fruits of the season.

tablet, this Chinese-Jewish worship consisted in *internal* "reverence," and in *external* "bowing down to the ground." Cf. I. Kings, 18, 42, —Neh. 8, 6.

- 1) Ancestor-worship became a vital point in Chinese Hebraism.
- 2) i.e. at the Spring and Autumn equinoxes. These times were chosen by the Chinese for the worship of Heaven. These Chinese equinoctial ceremonies I believe to be the survivals of a primitive Sun-worship.
- 3) The Chinese offered a "sheep" in honour of each new moon. (See *Confucian Analects*, B. 3: 17).

I would not however have it understood that the Jews copied after the Chinese as to the *Spring* and *Autumn* "sacrifices." The Chinese indeed worship with greatest ceremony at the Spring Equinox, but the Jewish "*Passover*" also occurred at the same time of the year, in the month *Nisan* (about April 1st). Again the great feast of "*Tabernacles*" occurred at the *Autumn* Equinox, in the month *Tishri* (about Oct. 1st). Thus we can see in the "*Spring*" and "*Autumn*" ceremonies of the Chinese Jews, survivals of the Biblical festivals, but there were never any *bloody sacrifices* offered in the *Kak-fung-foo* temple, since Jews went to China in Mishnaic days, and knew well of the end of Jewish sacrificial worship. As no Jewish sacrifices were actually offered in China, I can only hold to one of two things, i.e., either that we have here a proof of the corrupted continuance of the "*Passover*," accompanied by the slaughter of animals, (oxen as well as sheep), or else we have a mere reference to the worship of the Chinese. The strange part of it all is, (if it refers to *Jewish* worship) the fact of all these offerings being in honour of *ancestors*,—a view seemingly far removed from the Biblical; and yet, were not the Old Testament usages of "*Passover*" really intended to honour *ancestors* as well as to show thanks to *Je-ho-va*h? How easily transmutable was this Jewish feast into a Chinese one! In the letter sent by the Jews of China through Consul Layton, at Amoy, in answer to a letter of inquiry sent by Mr. Finn (see Finn's "*Orphan Colony of Jews in China*"), mention is made of the observance of several feasts and fasts by the Chinese Jews, and among them are "*Unleavened Bread*" or "*Passover*," and "*Pentecost*," but apparently not "*Tabernacles*." Thus we know that "*Passover*" was observed in China in our own day; the only question being that of the accompanying ceremonies, and whether the above reference is to "sheep" and "oxen" offered at the corrupted *Chinese-Jewish Passover*, or not; at any rate, there is an evident confusion of Jewish with Chinese practices.

A. K. GLOVER.

(To be continued).

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

THE BLACK-HEADS OF BABYLONIA AND ANCIENT CHINA.

1. IN the basin of the Hwang-ho, as was the case long before and since remote times in the Euphrates valley, a generic denomination for the people was Black-heads. Four years ago I have already pointed out once and rapidly (B. & O. R. Jan., 1888, vol. I, pp. 25 & 31,) this one curious item among the six or more scores of instances which can be traced of Chaldean influence in the early civilisation of the Ancient Chinese. But the matter, which by itself is not without interest, involves several important questions of ethnology and intercommunications, which require to be examined.

I.

2. The appellative Black-heads, 𒂗𒃗 𒂗 𒂗, Sumero-Akkadian *Sag-gig-ga*, litt. Heads black, Assyro-Babylonian, *Salmat kakkudi*, litt. blackness of heads, for the Babylonian population, occurs from the remotest to the latest times.

—In the legend of Sargon, he is made to say: “When the King who comes after me in future *days*—shall govern the men of the black-headed race;....”

—Istar is said to have been the mother of mankind in the story of the deluge, and as Gula “the great” goddess, she is addressed in a prayer as “the mother who has borne the men with the black heads.”

—In a hymn to Merodach, it is spoken of “Mankind, (*and*) even the black-headed race of *Akkad*.”

—In another hymn, the same god is called “nourisher (?) of the black-headed race.”

—One very old legend records that Anu the great Heaven god summoned Nerra, the warrior of the gods, and told him:....“thou shalt strike the peo-

ple of the black-heads unto death with the desolation (?) of the god Ner;..." —In a fragmentary hymn composed by order of Assur-bani-pal on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, mankind are called "the people of the black-heads,....."²

The hymn to Ea³ tells us that the god of Eridu was the creator of the black-headed race—that is to say, the old non-Semitic population whose primary centre and starting-point was in Eridu itself⁴—the river port near the Persian Gulf.

3. Scholars have not agreed on the actual meaning of this term black-headed. George Smith when he published for the first time the hymn to Ea thought that it referred to a dusky race, in opposition to a fair one, not unlike the children of Men and the children of God mentioned in the first chapters of Genesis. François Lenormant at one time shared that view⁵, but afterwards gave it up. In his *Origines de l'histoire* of 1880 he expressed the opinion, that, it was at first nothing more than a poetical expression, which in later times had come to pass in all kinds of texts, and even in the historical inscriptions; instead of describing a particular race, it was a generic word for mankind at large.⁶ And there he referred to Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch,⁷ who in his German edition of G. Smith's Chaldaean Genesis, had explained its origin by showing that it concerned, not the colour of the skin, but the notion, which is met also in the Bible⁸, that black hair was a sign of virility and youth.⁹

4. On the other hand in his remarks on antiquities discovered in *The islands of Bahrein*, Sir Henry Rawlinson, called attention to the fact that "it is certainly a remarkable proof of the persistency of tradition among the Assyrians of their civilisation being derived from the Persian Gulf, that Nebo—"the burnt and dusty god"—, the special guardian of "the dusky race," and the tutelar god of the Bahrein, is always spoken of in the Assyrian mythology as the inventor of the system of cuneiform writing."¹⁰ In a paper on *Akkadian and Sumerian in Comparative Philology*, of Nov. 1886, it was remarked that while Sumerian and Akkadian exhibit undoubtedly a relationship with the Turano-Scythian group of languages in general, their ideological evolution and that of the Assyro-Babylonian discloses the early presence in Chaldaea of another population who brought, innovated, or in an ease, who made first use of the Chaldaean writing. In the same article and in a subsequent one on *The Kushites—who were they?*, it was advocated that this population was no other than one of the old Kushite tribes of unequal race, and renowned mythical fame, the earliest sea-traders, who used to inhabit the lands and

the sea-shores from Abyssinia to India, and of whom the Bichari, Somali, Galla, Agao, and Kunama, Bilin, Afar, Barea, &c. of Abyssinia, the Bagas of the Oman coast, the Brahui of the Northern, the Kolarians of Central, and the Dravidians of Southern India, are more or less the modern representatives diverged here by Semitic, there by Aryan and elsewhere by Negritic intermingling.¹¹

5. The finest type was that which is represented by the oldest specimens of plastic art hitherto discovered in Chaldaea, chiefly at Telloh, and which we look upon as the historic Erythræan civilisers of Babylonia. The principal characteristics,¹² were heads neither long nor round, forehead straight, jaws orthognathous, the cheek bones prominent, the nose large and straight, the hair curly, and we may add a dusky complexion. They belonged to the dark variety of the white race that which the lamented De Quatrefages, has called the Erythræan family, in his monumental *Introduction à l'Etude des Races humaines*.¹³ It was to that type slightly altered in course of time by intermingling that belonged the men of the famous body guard of the Persian kings at Susa in Elam, as shown by the archæological discoveries made on the site of the Acropole a few years ago.¹⁴

6. Therefore it is only what could be expected to see Prof. Sayce declare in his afore-mentioned Lectures, that in his opinion the exact meaning of the Babylonian expression black-heads "is uncertain. It did not refer to the custom of wearing long black hair, as in this case the phrase would have been black-haired instead of black-headed. His conclusion is this: "As however the excavations on the site of Susa have brought to light enamelled bricks of the Elamite period on which a black race of mankind is portrayed, it may mean that the primitive Sumerian population of Chaldaea was really black skinned."¹⁵

I think that the whole matter duly considered make more than probable that the *Sag-gig-ga*¹⁶ of Babylonian tradition referred simply to the dusky race described above, descendants of the civilisers from the Erythræan Sea, under the command of a leader, the fabled Oannès of Berossus, who introduced in the country the elements of civilisation¹⁷. The monuments, concurring with historical and philological researches have disclosed the existence of three races of Men in Babylonia and Elam, the dark race we have just spoken of; a round headed one, nose prominent, chin and forehead receding, Akkadian of Northern origin,¹⁸ and the Assyro-Babylonian Semite. These facts are most important and clear, singularly the problems concerning the origin of civilization in Ba-

bylonia.

7. We have thus come back to the view first proposed by George Smith that the expression Black-heads really meant a dusky race. That it had that meaning in earliest times seems now sure enough, but there are several reasons that prevented it conveying that meaning later. The dark civilisers must necessarily have occupied a prominent position for a certain time before receding in the lower ranks of the population. And the expression Black-heads denoting them could be gradually but an equivalent of clever and able men, a meaning which must have superseded the former sense, when the dark people ceased to be paramount. They were displaced in authority by the Akkadians from the North who introduced notions and views of their own and adopted the body of written characters which they altered in sounds and somewhat in forms. As they were probably yellow-skinned, the old term could not apply to them, more than it could apply to the Semites who in their turn took the lead, except in its long acquired sense of able men, also young men, i.e. not grey-haired men. And it is undoubtedly with that acceptation that it remained in use during the long course of Babylonian and Assyrian history.

NOTES—

- 1) *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, IV. 29, 35a, and elsewhere.—Brunnow, *Classij. List Cuneij.*, No. 3637, 3513.
- 2) All these quotations I extract from A. H. Sayce's *Lectures on the religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, 1887, pp. 27, 79, 99, 143, 198, 284, and 311.—*C.I. W.A.*, III., 4, 7; IV., 61, 27; IV., 29, 1, 11; II., 50, 10; and K. 2354, 5, 6; K. 2836, *Obr.* 11-13.
- 3) Published several times.
- 4) *Lectures*, p. 143.
- 5) *Chaldean Magic*, 1878, p. 193.
- 6) Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, II. 283.—F. Lenormant. *Etudes Cuneiformes*, IV. 78-80.
- 7) G. Smith's *Chaldaic Genesis*, pp. 301-304.
- 8) Ecclesiast. XI. 10.—Franz Delitzsch, *Comment.* p. 387.
- 9) *Origines de l'histoire*, I. 312.
- 10) *J.R.A.S.*, 1880, vol. XII. p. 219.—*C.I. W.A.*, II. 60, 34.—Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, IIIrd edit., vol. I. p. 661-664.
- 11) T. de L., in *B. & O.R.*, vol. I. pp. 3, 7, 25-31.
- 12) Cf. A. H. Sayce, *The Races of the Old Testament*, 1891, pp. 139-140.—T. G. Pinches, *Upon the types of the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia*: *J.A.I.* Nov. 1891.
- 13) Part II., 1889 pp. 394 and 486.
- 14) M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*.
- 15) *Lectures*, p. 99 n.
- 16) It is interesting to notice here that one of the Assyrian equivalents of *SAG-GIG-GA* was *pittu pannu*: blackness of face. Cf. C. T. W. A., IV. 19, 33a; Brunnow's *List*, 8921.

17) The late Arthur Amiand, like Sir Henry Rawlinson, was also of opinion that the cuneiform writing had not been invented by the Akkadians of Northern origin. Many proofs may be adduced in favour of this view. A few may be seen in occasional references in my remarks on *The Old Babylonian Characters and their Chinese derivates*, 1898.

18) See its description in Sayee, *The races*, pp. 137-138, and in T. G. Pinches, *l. c.*

II.

8. Seventeen centuries after the age of Sargon of Agadé, who was ruling over the black headed race of Babylonia, the same expression had found its way and appeared on the banks of the Hwang-ho.

9. We met it in the first sentences of the *Shu-King*, and repeatedly afterwards.¹⁹

—(I. 2) He (Yao) regulated and polished the (*Bak sing*) people (of his domain), who all became brightly intelligent. He united and harmonized the myriad states (of his dominion), and the black headed people were reformed by this cordial agreement.

—(II. i. 18) Shun (the successor of Yao) said (to the superintendent of Agriculture), "K'i, the Black headed people are suffering the distress of hunger."

—(II. ii. 10) The great Yü answering to Shun's proposal of taking the leadership of his people, says, "My abilities are not equal to the task, and the people do not accord with me; but Kao-Yao has vigourously diffused his virtues, which virtues have descended and caused the black headed people to esteem him."

—(II. iii. 2) Yü answering to Kao-Yao: "..... When a sovereign gives repose to the people (*min*), he is kind, and the black headed people cherish him in their hearts."

—(II. iv. 7) In the last of the books of Yü, Yü speaking to Shun says: "..... in the myriad states the most able (*Li*) of the people will all wish to be your subjects."

—(II. iii. 1) The chapter containing The songs of the five sons of Tai K'ang, (cir. 1909 B.C.), begins with the following statement: "Tai-K'ang was on the throne as a sham sovereign. By idleness and dissipation he obliterated his virtue, till the black headed people all began to waver in their allegiance."

The term black headed appears *once* in the books of the Tchou dynasty of the *Shu-King*, and this only in the last which contains the speech of the Duke Mu of *Ts'in* (Shensi), in 625 B.C. In his conception of a thoroughly good and valuable minister, he says:

—(V. xxx. 6, 7) “..... such a minister would be able to preserve my descendants ane my black headed people,”²⁰ and the same statement is reversed in the following paragraph.

10. It occurs three times in the *Shi King*, and in two cases it is perhaps more explicit than in the afore-quoted instances. In the Ode *Sang yu*, composed between 842 and 828 B.C., the Earl of Juy mourns over the misery and disorder of the times, and says:

“Every state is being ruined

There are no black heads among the people.”²¹

The other instance is in the Ode *Yun Han*, composed by the King Sinen of *T'chou*, about 820 B.C., stanza 3:

“The draught is excessive,.....

Of the remnant of Tehou, among the black headed people,

There will not be half-a-man left,”²²

A statement which Meng-tze (Mencius) tells us must not be taken literally.²³

The third instance is that of the Ode *T'ien pao*, composed sometime during the first period of the Tchou dynasty. It is addressed to the King.

(St. 5) “.....All the black heads, and the people
Universally practise your virtue.”²⁴

11. In all the ten quotations above, except the last, the Chinese expression is *Li* or *Li min* (13125-4822), literally, “Black people.” In the Ode *T'ien pao*, it is *Kiun Li*: 8202-13125; “the flock of the Blacks.” Another term also in use was *Li tchung* : 13125-9647; “of the blacks all;” as well as *Li yuen*: 13125-575: Black beginning, *Li-hiuen*: 13125-6051 : Black-black : *K'ien-Li* : 13139-13125 : Black-black and *Li shu* : 13125-2533: Black all, which are still employed at present. Therefore all the force of the meaning rests in the word *Li*: 13125: which means Black in some cases, but does not do so in others.

It has been taken for granted by translators that this would only refer to the conspicuously black hair of the race, and they have rendered it accordingly; and they agreed also in the interpretation shown, by the Odes *Sang Yu* and *Yun han* of the *Shi King*, of black-haired, as those who are not grey-haired, and therefore are able bodied. Here we meet the same sense as that which became attributed to the primitive Black heads of Babylonia, under the sway of the Akkadians and Semites.

The exact meaning of *Li* in the earliest times must therefore be enquired into.

12. Let us first examine its historical equivalent.

When Ts'in She Hwang-ti, having established his sway over the six other principal states which with his own principality formed the Chinese

dominion, founded the Chinese Empire (221 B.C.), his mind was bent to introduce changes everywhere, and the old appellative *Li Min* and variants did not escape his attention. He decided²⁵ that henceforth the expression *K'ien Shou*: 13139—Cl. 185: Black heads should be used²⁶ in its stead. The *Shwoh wen*, written in A.D. 89, says that “*K'ien*: 13139, has the same meaning as *Li*: 13125. Ts'in called the people *K'ien shou*, Black-heads, in allusion to Black colour, because during the Tchou dynasty, it was called *Li min*: Black people; but another explanation is that it was given on account of the black kerchiefs worn on their heads by the people.”²⁷ Let us remember that Shi Hwang-ti in his 26th year (221 B.C.) had enacted that in dress, insignia, and banners, Black would be the ruling colour of his dynasty,²⁸ a fact which explains the last statement, otherwise unclear, of the author of the *Shwoh-Wen*. We are thus confronted here with one of the cases of crossed-symbolism which the Chinese mind has ever been wont to establish in anything initiated or instituted by them, and which often, most simple and one-sided in its initial stage, has, almost always with great ingenuity, been run up loose and wild by the subsequent writers and commentators, to the great perplexity of European enquirers. As we shall see below, the first explanation of the *Shwoh wen* was partly wrong, and *K'ien shou* was not the actual synonyme of *Li min*.

13. The character *Li* : 13125 is a complex symbol. It is made of *li*: 775 : gain—composed itself of *ho* : cl. 115 : cereal+*wuh* : 933 : signal—and of *juh* : cl. 11 : enter+*shui* : 85 : water. The same component parts *ho+juh+shui* make by themselves the symbol²⁹ *shu* : cl. 202 : cereal sown in water, which work it is stated was made in the hottest season³⁰, when sun burning was in force. So that the complex character *Li* : 13125 means “that which is signalled by the cereals sown in water, i.e. agricultural work, whence the meanings of black, from the sun-burn complexion of the husbandmen, and that of able bodies, from the necessary ableness of the same men³¹. The Chinese have come to the same explanation in a more round about manner, by an assimilation of written characters; *Li* : 5673 : to plough has been written with the above phonetic *li* : 775 : gain, or with the complex character *li* : 13125 in question, with the addition of the cl. 93 of cattle; this character *li* : 5673 : to plough would have acquired the meaning black because they used to begin ploughing before dawn when it was still dark. Whence the meaning black of the homonymous character *li* : 13125. I think my readers will dismiss with me this explanation as pure childishness. We can understand for instance that *tchao:da w n* should have come to be

used metaphorically for *Imperial Audience* because this was held in early morning, but stretching the connexion of ideas goes too far in that other case. However early the Chinese husbandmen would have wished to begin their work, they could not materially do so in the dark and before dawn; therefore the word *li* : 5673 in question could not have thus acquired a connected sense of black; but it might have gained in course of time that of 'morning light,' (which in fact it has³²). The Chinese suggestion must be left aside, as unreasonable, and the common sense view above explained of the case is only required to find the solution of the problem.

14. The selection of the character *Li* : 13125, for their denoting their black headed people, instead of one or other more precise in sense which they could have chosen in their vocabulary, shows undoubtedly that the intention of the early Chinese rulers has never been to denote a dusky or dark skinned race. We know only that the colour of skin of the Bak families when they came from the West into China, was not dark, and it is shown by the symbolism of some of their compound ideograms that they had blue eyes, so that in any case we may be sure it was not black. The white and red colour of the face are in several instances referred to, in the composition of their complex written characters, as well as in the literature of olden times³³. There were certainly some dusky skinned race among the native populations of the land, and when Ts'in She Hwang-ti denominated the region of *Kuei-tchou*, conterminous with his dominion but independent and chiefly occupied by native tribes, he called it the Black Centre (*K'ien tchung* : 13159-26) for that reason. But these dark races have nothing to do with the Chinese Black headed people as shown repeatedly by the instances quoted above from the Great Classics.

15. As previously stated *Li min* has been translated as a matter of course by Black haired people, but this rendering has come to vogue only since the famous commentator Ts'ai Teh'en of the twelfth century³⁴ in his remarks on the first chapter of the *Shu King*. The previous glossarists had explained the term as an equivalent of *tchung* : 9647 : all. Such are the statements of the Khang-hi dictionary²⁵. I do not know any evidence that the followers of Yao and Shun, descendants of the original Bak sing colonists from the west had dark hair. The question is resolved into a *petitio principii*, as it is from that questioned expression *Li min* that the inference has been derived that they had black hair. The speculations of Biot³⁵ and Pauthier³⁶ on the *peuple aux cheveux noirs* as being thus distinguished from the hair of various col-

ours of the pre-Chinese populations, have no other basis than that, and as far as we know of the latter people, the reverse was probably the case as we shall see further on.

16. Although there cannot be any doubt that since olden time black hair has become the rule in China, from interminglings with the indigenous as well as from northern and mongoloid tribes immigrated in the land, it is surprising, if any importance was attributed to the black hair, that no praise or even any reference to it should appear in ancient poetry and literature. Complexion, form of the face, forehead and hair, long, and curled³⁸ have indeed been praised, but no allusion was made to the black colour of the hair.

17. Following modern versions, once in the Book of Poetry, the black hair of a lady would be mentioned in an ode written to her praise :

“Her *luxuriant hair* in masses like clouds.

No false locks does she descend to.”

The translations have “*black hair*.”³⁹

Referring to the text which is that of the Ode *Kiun tzei Kai lao* composed about 718-696 B.C.⁴⁰, we find that it speaks only of the luxuriant hair of the lady and not of her black hair. The latter is another instance of stretched interpretation by the exegetes. The expression used is *tchen fah* : 12702-12679 : luxuriant hair, and nothing more. Now *Tchen* : 12702 is described in the *Shwoh wen* (89 B.C.) as *tch'ou fah* : 7197-12679 : thick-like-harvest hair, while the basis (*pēn*) of the word is said to be *tchen* (phon. 183 Call.) which means luxuriant hair. Another proof that the *Shwoh wen* rendering is the right explanation is given by a statement of the *Tso tchuen*⁴¹: In ancient times, the chief of the *Jeng* clan had a daughter, with splendid black hair and very beautiful, so that her brightness cast a light around her, and she was named “the dark Lady.” This does really suggest that dark hair was not at all common in the remote time when she lived, as we shall see below. The words of the text are that the daughter in question had “luxuriant hair (*tchen* : 12702) black (*heh* : cl. 203), and she was very beautiful.” If *tchen* had meant black hair it would not have required the qualification of black added to it⁴². I think this justifies the translation of the verse as I give it.

18. It is only in later times that we find any other references to the colour of the hair.

In the Ode *Pih kung* of 650-618 B.C.,⁴³ we meet the following verses :

“ May the yellow hair⁴⁴ and wrinkled back,

Marking the aged men, be always in your employment !”

The explanation of this statement, unfamiliar to us, is found in the *Erh-ya* of the Vth century B.C., and in a gloss of the *Li ki* of the Han dynasty. When persons begin to be old their hair turns white, but when they are exceedingly advanced in age, their hair becomes yellow.

In 547 B.C., the invaluable chronicle of Ts'o K'iu-ming has the following entry⁴⁵ : "Before this, Juy, minister of Instruction in Sung (the Chinese state of W. Honan) had a daughter born to him, who was so red and hairy, that he made her be thrown away under a bank." She was saved and "as she grew up, she became beautiful." This seems to say that her hair was red, whence the dislike of her father for her, which would show that black hair had become the rule, and was the only colour allowed. But the matter is not clearly stated.

19. The expressions *Li min*, *Li shu*, *Li tchung*, *Li yuen*, *Kiun Li*, &c., refer really at present to the commonly black hair of the people, but it certainly not did so in very ancient times. It is not even certain that the black hair were ever specially regarded as proper to the Chinese race as yet in the sixth century B.C. *Li min* had certainly the acceptation of able bodied people under the Tchou dynasty as shown by the references which we have quoted from their odes, and by another important circumstance concerning them which we have to mention here. The Tchou people as is well known were red haired. Now as their rulers showed no reluctance in making use of *Li min*, it is quite clear that it could not refer to any black-haired race in preference to any other. It denoted all the able bodied people, whatever may have been the colour of their hair, auburn, brown or dark, as well as the red haired Tehou people, who were soon fused and absorbed by their intermingling with the other parts of the population.

20. Going back to the most ancient period, we see that *Li min* could not apply then more than afterwards to a blackhaired race. The story of the Black Lady of Jeng, which we have noticed in the course of our investigations is full of significance under that respect. Her father was the chief of the Jeng⁴⁶, one of the early Chinese clans, and she married Kwei the musical officer of the *Ti Shun*. So says the chronicle⁴⁷. The date is then about 2000 B.C. Therefore if a black-haired daughter was looked upon as an extraordinary person, among the immediate descendants of the Bak sing colonists, they could not have been black haired themselves. This interesting fact joined to several suggestions derived from their written characters showing them blue eyed, with a ruddy complexion, throw an unexpected light on the physical type of the civilisers

of China.

21. The ground is now cleared enough and the obscurities of the case are dispelled to a large extent. We can understand at present how it was that the early leaders of the Bak sings colonists in China, did not select one of the symbols of their writing meaning "black," when they had to choose a written character to denote all the able-bodied part of the population, Bak sings and Natives. Husbandry was the chief work of the people, and their sole means of getting food; it was hard work requiring strength, and among other work of that class, that made in hot weather for the water-sown-cereal was that which apparently most affects the colour of the complexion. They were thus led by a natural association of ideas to take the sign *li*: 13125 meaning, as explained previously, that which is signalled by cereals-sown-in water, *i.e.* able-bodiedness of sun-burnt husbandmen.⁴⁸ It implied what they wanted, *i.e.* a combined notion of the most able part of the population with that of dark headed men, without reference to a dusky race. This complex notion, occurring as it does at their very beginnings in the Flowery Land shows that it was part of the stock of ideas which they brought with them from the West.

NOTES—

- 19) *Shu King*, following the English translations of Medhurst and Legge.
- 20) It is quoted in the *Ta hish*, X., 14.
- 21) *Shi King*, III., 3, Ode III, 2.—*Chin. Class IV.*, 520.
- 22) Part III., 3, Ode IV., 3.—*ibid.* p. 530.
- 23) Mencius, V., 2: IV., 2.
- 24) Part II., 1: Ode VI., 5.—Ch. Cl. IV., 257: "All the black haired race in all their surnames;" the text says *Li min peh sing*, litt. black people hundred surnames.
- 25) Sze ma Tsien, *She Ki*, Kiv. 6. f. 12.
- 26) G. Pauthier, (*Premier Mémoire sur l'Antiquité de l'histoire et de la Civilisation Chinoises*, 1867, p. 10, has misunderstood the facts.—Mr. C. J. Ball, *The New Accadian*, 1890, p. 124, has compared this *Kien Shou* with the *Sag-gigga* of Babylonia, without referring to my previous comparison of the early *Li-min* with the same denomination. He rightly compares the Akkadian *Kan*: black, with the Chinese *Kien*, to which he might have added *hien*, *hwan*, *yuen*, all variants of the same stem. I am not so sure of his comparison of Akk. *Sag* with the Chinese *Sang* (forehead), because the *Kien* form suggests a contraction of *shou+nok*, while the equivalence with the Chinese *shon* is better. His comparison of *yl*: black, with Akk. *gig* is not sufficient, as *yl* is a dialectic variant of *hek*, *mek*, which I have compared with *gig*, *mig*, Akk. since 1880, *Early history*, p. 21.
- 27) Cf. *Khang hi tze tien*, 203—4, f. 30.
- 28) W. F. Mayers, *Yellow as an Imperial Colour: Notes and Queries*, Hong Kong, 1867, vol. I., p. 142.

29) As analysed in the *Phonetic shwoh-wen* of 1833, cf. J. Chalmers, *The structure of Chinese characters*, p. 100.

30) *Shwoh Wen*.—*Khanghi tze tieu*, cl. 202.

31) *Li* : 13125 occurs once in the *Yu Kung*, I, 67 as a qualificative of the soil of Liang tchou, the name given to the region comprising the South of Shensi and the North of Szetchuen. Its meaning there is unascertained and commentators disagree because the term ought to refer to the nature of the soil. Black does not suit, nor does the meaning small and thin or light adopted in ch. cl. III, 121 avowedly without justification. The meaning of *li* in its sense of agriculture would suit well a land worked by husbandry.

32) Cf. the character *li* : d a w n (cl. 162+13125); and the expression *li-ming* : 13125—3890: d a r k—b r i g h t i.e. a t d a y b r e a k, also written with other derivates of *li*, 1151 or 13158 and *ming* : 3890.

33) Cf. Edward Biot, *Recherches sur les Mœurs anciennes des Chinois, d'après le Shi King*, J. A. 1843. Transl. into Legge's *Chin. Class.* IV. Introd.—Their ideal of beauty was a white complexion for women and a reddish one for men. For the latter Cf. Ode *Kien hi*, stanza 3: "I am red as if I were rouged" (not pointed out by Biot) and Ode *Tchung nan*, st. 1: "And with his countenance rouged as if with vermillion." Cf. *Shi King*, I. iii: Ode XIII, and xi. Ode v.

34) Ts'ai Teh'en lived 1127-1230 A.D. cf. W. F. Mayers, Chinese R. M., I, 748.

35) *Khang-hi tze tien*, s.v. *Ki*, 202+3, f. 26 v.

36) *Le Tcheou-li*, Introd. p. v.

37) Instead of 'Pauthier' read in the text: 'and others.'

38) For the latter cf. *Shi king* : Part II, Bk. VIII, Ode I. *Tu jense*. st. 4: "Those ladies of great houses,—With their side hair curving up like a scorpion's tail!"—And in the following stanza: "Not that they gave their hair that curve:—The hair had a natural curl."

39) *Chin. class.* IV, 77.

40) *Shi King*, Part I, Bk. IV, Ode III.

41) *Tso tchuen*, Tchao kung, 28th year, 4, quoted in the *Khang-hi tze tien*, s.v. *TCHEN*, 190+10, f. 53.

42) In the modern text of the *Tso tchuen* as translated by Legge, *Chin. Class.* V, 724, 726, the character *tchen* : 131-6—made of cl. 203 : black+phon. 674 : *tchen* : p e r f e c t—has been substituted to the older *tchen* : 12702,—made of cl. 190 : hair+phon. 674 : *tchen* : p e r f e c t. One cannot be too careful never to trust the modern transcriptions of ancient texts without verification.

43) *Shi King*, Part IV, Bk. 2, Ode IV, st. 5. Partly repeated st. 8.

44) In Legge's translation, *Chin. Class.* V. 626 and 629: "May the hoary hair...." which is not exact as the text has *hwang jiah* : cl. 201-12679 : yellow hair.

45) *Tso tchuen*, Siang kung, ann. xxvi, 6.—*Chin. Cl.* V, 525.—The text says: *tch'eh erh mao* : cl. 155—cl. 128—cl. 82 : r e d a n d hairy.

46) At the beginning of the Hia dynasty, the *Jeng* clan had removed westwards and settled in centre west of modern Shan tung near Tainan fu. Siang the fourth successor of *Yü* is said to have married also a daughter of that clan. Cf. *Tchuh shu ki nien*, III, 5. The *Khang hi tze tien*, s.v. *Jeng*, 9+2, f. 4 quotes the *She ki*, Hia pén ki

in support of a statement that Shao kang, the successor of Siang made a similar marriage, but I cannot find the passage in Szema Tsien, under that ruler. *She ki*, kiv. II, f. 15.

47) *Tso tchuen*, X. : Tehao kung, XXVIII, 4.
 48) The reason why they have selected the sound *li* in preference to any other ought to be a souvenir from the west but its explanation is a matter of conjecture. Was it because the first character of the Babylonian expression was *rish* (=Akk. *sag*), but its meaning head goes against the suggestion. Or was it from the sounds *panu erebu* : face sun-set-dark which belong in Assyrian to *s.tg* and *gig*. Inverted as required by the Chinese ideology, they would make *erebu panu* which simplified into **reb pan* would be approximately imitated by the Chinese *li men*.

III. CONCLUSION.

22. The results of our enquiry on the use of the curious expression black heads in Babylonia and China to denote the people in general, as represented by the not grey haired able-bodied, clear an important problem of ethnology. They show that the Heads black of Babylonia did really at first allude to the clever and able dark race civiliser of the country originally from the Erythraean sea. But in course of time, under the rule of the clear skinned Akkadians and Semites, the expression preserved only its acceptation of able-bodied people. Such was the limited sense of the term as known to the Bak sing,—who were most probably blue eyed, ruddy faced and not black-haired,—civilisers of China, seventeen centuries after the time of Sargon. They had obviously carried it to the East⁴⁸ with the so-many notions and ideas which they had received from the Chaldeo-Elamite civilisation.

NOTES—

49) The *Bak sing* colonists had been also impressed with the Assyro-Babylonian view that the country of the Black heads was the centre of everything. In cuneiform texts we find the expression *LIB zu* :  : Centre of wisdom which occurs repeatedly in the texts as a denomination of the country. (Cf. Brunnnow's list, 7995.=Assur). In China we find a souvenir of the same idea in the term *Tchung pang* : 26-11194, afterwards *Tchung kwoh* : 26-1539, which is used from oldest times (cf. *Shu king*, III, 1, 15 : V, 11, 1) for the Central state or Middle Kingdom.
 50) The numbers in the text and notes refer to the Chinese characters as arranged in Basile dictionary, edit. De Guignes 1813, Hong-Kong, 1853, Hokienfu, 1877.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

Herewith the Summary of the present paper :

Introductory. § 1. Black heads in both countries.

I. THE BLACK-HEADS OF BABYLONIA.—§2. Seven instances from texts of various dates.—3. Scholars disagree on the meaning of the term.—

4. The dusky race of civilisers from the Erythræan sea.—5. Their type re-discovered from the three races of the monuments.—6. The black heads must refer to them.—7. In course of time it meant the able bodied people.

II. THE BLACK HEADS OF CHINA.—§ 8. Seventeen centuries after Sargon the same term had been transmitted to Chiu.—9. Seven instances in the *Shu King*. (2000-625 B.C.)—10. Three in the *Shi King*. 1100-820 B.C.)—11. The *Li* are the able bodied people.—12. The *Kien shou* or Black heads of 221 B.C. explain nothing.—13. Symbolical etymology of *Li*, able bodied's and sunburnt's work.—14. *Li* cannot refer to a dusky race.—15. *Li min*, erroneously rendered "black haired people."—16. No praise of black-hair in ancient literature.—17. A false instance from the Book of Poetry.—18. Doubtful instances in 650 and 547 B.C.—19. The Red-haired Tchou have used the term *Li min*.—20. The early civilisers of China had blue eyes and no black hair.—21. Their notion of Black-heads was complex.

III. CONCLUSION.—§ 22. The Chinese notion was derived from Chaldaea and Elam.

THE P'U YAO KING :
A FRAGMENT OF THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA.

(*Translated by the late Prof. Dr. S. Beal.*)

(Continued from p. 228).

Buddha addressed the Bhikshus and said: "The body of Bodhisatwa (as he advanced) emitted a bright and shining light of exceeding brilliancy, which was universally diffused (throughout the abodes) of the dwellers in darkness (evil modes of birth); on the appearance of this light the eight miseries were completely destroyed, the diseased were restored to health, those filled with destroying fear obtained rest, those bound with fetters obtained release, the deaf, the blind, and the leprous were restored, the poor were enriched, the weary were at rest, the thirsty were refreshed, the hungry were filled, the barren became fruitful, the old and weak were strengthened; and so it came to pass at that time there was no lust or hate or envy, or mutual dislikes or quarrels among men, but all was peace, and each one regarded the other with the love of a father, or a mother, or a child, or as oneself; thus universal Love (loving heart) prevailed on every side; and so the verses say:

"And as he came towards that sacred enclosure,
There appeared in the midst of the regions of Hell,
(A light which caused) all those who suffered pain

To obtain perfect release and rest.
 All beasts of prey were peaceful and quiet,
 Each one regarding the other with affection.
 All living things cherished a loving heart.
 And there was no fear of evil experienced.
 And even down to the abode of the Pretas,
 They obtained refreshing draughts to cool their throats,
 And food to satisfy themselves withal.
 Through the spiritual virtue (grace) of Bodhisatwa
 The eight evils (calamities) were all averted.
 There was cessation of the evil modes of birth,
 All creatures were at rest and peace.
 A universal joy like that of Heaven was felt,
 The deaf and the blind,
 The halt and the maimed,
 Were at this propitious time restored to sight and hearing,
 And their bodies were made perfectly whole.
 Those debased with lust and envy, or worn with toil,
 Those bound in the fetters of misery and pain,
 All these found release and rest,
 And their minds were fixed in paths of virtue.
 The poor were greatly enriched.
 Those born were born in Heaven,
 The diseased were restored to health.
 The prisoners were liberated.
 There was no hatred or variance,
 No quarrelling or discord.
 At this time there was a mutual reverence,
 A universal sentiment of Love was felt,
 As that of a Father or Mother to an only Son;
 So were all creatures bound together by loving thoughts,
 Even as they (the Father and Mother) mutually care for,
 And desire the welfare of their child.
 And now the glory of Bodhisatwa's person
 Shone through and illumined the lands of Buddha,
 Even as the sands of the rivers
 Which flow far and wide towards the four quarters;
 The iron range of Mountains hindered it not;
 It shone through and passed beyond the pitchy hills;
 Throughout the infinite universe, the innumerable worlds
 Appeared in this glory as one Earth,
 Like a row of pearls strung together they appeared,
 Smooth and plain as the palm of a hand;
 Adorned and glorious were all these worlds,
 In honour and for the express homage of Bodhisatwa,
 And now the sixteen Devaputras
 Descend and encircle the Tree of Wisdom (Bodhi Tree).
 They richly adorn the sacred enclosure
 For the distance of three thousand and two hundred *lis*;
 In every conceivable way they embellish it,
 With ornaments drawn from countless worlds,
 Because of the spiritual excellencies of Bodhisatwa,

All these ornaments were used for that Tree of Buddha.
 Then all the Devas and Nâgas and Spirits,
 The Ghandarvas and Mahoragas,
 Every one of them raising a Palace,
 Taking there their abode beheld the Tree;
 And as they witnessed the complete adornment,
 Devas and men were filled with joy;
 Wonderful indeed must be the religious merit
 Of one for whom such preparations are made;
 The mouths and thoughts of all are engaged (in considering)
 For whom such honour is intended;
 So perfectly adorned in every way.
 Whatever the heart could desire was there,
 For as one who during his earthly sojourn
 Completely performs that which he has vowed,
 Realizes a perfect reward in return for his virtuous conduct,
 So is it now, with him.
 The Sacred Enclosure thus adorned,
 The four Devaputras embellish it further,
 Even as the picture and the measured Tree,
 When Buddha ascended to the Trayastrinshat heaven.
 We may not say that these things are self caused,
 We can only ponder on the perfect merit which brings such results
 The pure and virtuous conduct of Bodhisatwa,
 Whilst he was accomplishing his mundane career.

V. 14/1. THE NÂGA KÂLIKA. SECTION xvi.

Buddha addressed the Bhikshus and said, "The glory which proceeded from the body of Bodhisatwa having illumined the Palace of the Nâga râja Kâlika, the Nâga faintly perceiving this glory, which gives joy to body and mind, which dissipates all earthly pollution (dust) and darkness, and brings rest to the heart and joyfulness to the countenance, forthwith his eyes were opened and in the presence of his kindred he proceeded to recite the following hymn of praise: "In former days indeed I beheld Kakusanda¹ Buddha, long, long ago; and so also I beheld in later time Kanaka munî Buddha, and after that the glory of Kasyapa (Buddha) the radiance which shines through all the universe;² and now I perceive this same glorious light without any pollution; there must needs be a Buddha born in the world with all the sacred marks on his person, full of mercy, possessed of perfect wisdom, and therefore this bright light is shining through my palace, golden coloured, perfectly glorious, equal to that of the Sun

1) The first Buddha of the Bhadrakalpa, Kakusanda being the second, Kasyapa the third, Sâkyâ Buddha the fourth, and Maitreya Buddha the fifth.

2) The earths of the land.

which no splendour of fire or lustre of any jewel can rival; exceeding in its character the self caused brightness of Sâkra Devendra and of Brahma, and the glory of the Assuras;—and now this light has suddenly burst through this my palace which has ever heretofore been wrapped in gloom; perceiving which so pure and effulgent my body has found rest, my mind is at ease, and filled with joy, my person without any fear of misery, or suffering (burning) perfectly cool and at rest. Doubtless he who has through countless ages steadily progressed (towards the acquirement of Supreme Wisdom) is now to sit beneath the Tree of Wisdom. Well then! my friends, let us all provide ourselves with flowers and perfumes and garments, let us take gems and precious collars for the neck, choice odours, and extracts; let us take our lutes and instruments of music and proceed forthwith to offer them as a religious offering."

*THE TABLET INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHINESE JEWS
DISCOVERED AT KAI-FUNG FU (CHINA) IN 1850.*

(Continued from p. 232).

TABLET OF 1488,

Tablet recording the re-building of the Temple of Truth and Purity. (cont.)

This offering of sheep and oxen and presenting the fruits of the season,¹ is to show that they do not neglect the honour due to ancestors, when they are gone from us. During the course of every month we fast and abstain four times,² which constitutes the door by which religion is entered and the basis on which goodness is accumulated.

It is called an *entrance*³ because we practice one act of goodness to-day, and another to-morrow. Thus having commenced the merit of ab-

- 1) This is a survival of the Old Testament offering of "first-fruits," but how different is the *object* of all these offerings! In the Old Testament it was God, but here only *ancestors*! It is a mixture of Chinese and Jewish worship.
- 2) I suppose this excludes the four national fasti. Concerning the above I know nothing.
- 3) Or "*a door*," i.e. *fasting* is here held to be the best means toward the spirit of true holiness, this *fasting* at the same time arousing the spirit of *self-denial* in other ways.

stinence¹, we add to our store, avoiding the practice of every vice, and reverently performing every virtue². Every seventh day³ we observe a holy rest, which, when terminated, begins anew⁴; as it is said in the *Book of Diagrams*⁵, "the good man, in the practice of virtue, apprehends lest the time should prove too short." At each of the four seasons⁶ we lay ourselves under a seven day's restraint, in remembrance of the trials endured by our ancestors⁷, by which means we venerate our predecessors and reward our progenitors⁸. We also abstain entirely from food during a whole day⁹, when we devoutly pray to Heaven, repent of our former faults, and practice anew the duties of each day. The *Book of Diagrams* also says, "when the wind and thunder prevail, the good man thinks of what virtues he shall practice,¹⁰ and if he has any errors he reforms them."

Thus our religious system has been handed down and communicated from one to another. It came originally from *T'heen-Chuh*.¹¹ Those who introduced it in obedience to divine commands¹² were seventy clans,¹³ viz., those of Yen, Lè, Gaé, Kaou, Chaou, Kin, Chow, Chang, Shih, Hwâng, Née, Tsô, Pih, &c. These brought as tribute some Western cloth.¹⁴

1) *i.e.*, abstinence is the beginning of many other meritorious acts.

2) The Chinese Jews evidently did not make of *fasting* and *abstinence* a mere cloak for righteousness.

3) *i.e.*, at the end of every week. The Sabbath was always observed in the Jewish Colony in China (see Finn's *Orphan Colony*.)

4) This is an apparently abstruse statement, and can be understood, perhaps, to mean that *every day* should be to man as a Sabbath--a view in accord with the succeeding quotation from the Chinese.

5) This is an extremely ancient and mysterious book in the catalogue of the Chinese Classics. It may be the most ancient of their books.

6) *i.e.*, the 4th, 5th, 7th and 10th months of the Jewish ecclesiastical year.

7) These "trials" refer to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. The destruction of the first temple (and afterwards the second), the slaughter of *Gedaliah* and his company at Mizpah, (*Jer.* 41: 1), and the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar.

8) This is the expression of a Chinese-Jewish *Ancestor-worshiper*.

9) *i.e.*, on "the day of atonement," (10th of *Tishri*). This fasting was from Sun-dawn to Sun-dawn. It seems to have been kept very faithfully, and in wonderful purity in the midst of paganism.

10) *i.e.*, in the presence of impending destruction.

11) I have already stated that this was India, but, according to my researches, more particularly the region around *Cabul*, a great centre of Jewish caravan trade.

12) These Jews evidently held their migration to China to have been by divine command.

13) *i.e.*, about 5000 people.

14) The text says *Si yung pu*, *i.e.*, cloth from the Western Ocean. T. de L.

The emperor of the *Sung* dynasty said: "Since they have come to our central land, and devoutly observe the customs of their ancestors, let them hand down their doctrines at *Pēen-lēāng*¹. In the first year of *Lung-king*, of the *Sung*² dynasty, in the 20th year of the 65th cycle³, *Lēe ching* and *Woo-sze-ta*⁴ superintended this religion, and *Yen-too-lu*⁵ built the Synagogue⁶. In the reign of *Ché-yuēn*, of the *Yuen* dynasty⁷, or the 16th year of the 67th Cycle⁸, *Woo-sze-ta* rebuilt the ancient temple of truth and purity, which was situated in the *Thoo-shé-tszé*-street, on the South-east side⁹. On each side, the area of the temple extended 350 feet. When the first emperor of the *Ming* dynasty¹⁰ established his throne and pacified the people of the empire, all those who came under the civilizing influence of our country were presented with ground, on which they might dwell quietly, and profess their religion without molestation, in order to manifest a sympathizing benevolence, which views all alike.¹¹ But as this temple required some one to look after its concerns, these were appointed for that purpose¹² *Leè Ching*, *Leè Shih*, *Yen Ping-foo*, *Gai King*, *Chow Gan*, *Leè Kang*,¹³ &c., who were themselves upright and intelligent men,

1) i.e. the modern Kai-fung-foo. The permission to settle was evidently granted the Jews by the emperor on account of their devotion to their religion and their "ancestors!"

2) This was the great *Sung* dynasty. The date here referred to was 1163 A.D. (The "Shang-hae pamphlet" says 11 6. See p. 71 of that public.)

3) I consider these two individuals to have been *Rabbis*.

4) This person was probably a rich Jewish layman.

5) i.e. Temple.

6) i.e. the Mongol dynasty, preceding the native *Ming*.

7) i.e. 1279 (the Shang-hae pamphlet says 1280).

8) There is no mention, as far as I can discover, of any Jewish temple at Kai-fung-foo before the year 1163. Between this date and 1279 the temple must have been destroyed by an inundation of the Yellow River, unless the word "ancient" refers to a structure set up and destroyed centuries before the temple of 1163, which is improbable.

I rather hope that future research may result in discovering the existence of a temple soon after the middle of the 5th century A.D., but as yet there are no strong indications of such.

9) About half the temple area of Solomon's temple (for a ground plan of the temple, see "Menorah," September 1888).

10) i.e. the native Chinese dynasty succeeding the foreign Mongol, in the year 1368.

11) This is the general humane policy of the Chinese emperors.

12) i.e. by the Emperor.

13) A reference to the names of some of the "seventy clans" (p. 250), will suffice to show that the above-named persons were descendants of

and able to admonish others, having attained the title of *Mwan-la*¹. So that up to this time (1488), the sacred vestments, ceremonies and music are all maintained according to the prescribed pattern, and every word and action is conformed to the ancient rule².

Every man, therefore, keeps the laws and knows how to reverence Heaven and respect the patriarchs, being faithful to the prince and filial to parents,—all in consequence of the efforts of these teachers³. *Yen Ching*, who was skilled in medicine⁴, in the 19th year of *Yung-lo*⁵, received the imperial commands communicated through *Chow-foo-Ting-wâng*⁶, to present incense in the *temple of truth and purity*⁸, which was then repaired⁹.

About the same time also, there was received the imperial tablet of the *Ming* dynasty, to be erected in the temple.¹⁰

the first settlers,—they were among the prominent Jewish families.

- 1) I think this is the Chinese phonetic rendering of the English *Mollah* (Turk. *Mewla* or *Molla*), the name of the higher order of Turkish Ecclesiast. Judges (Webster). The Mahometan influence was very great at *Kai-fung-foo*, and many Turkish and Arabian words were imposed on the Chinese: and as the Jews were confounded with the *Mahometans* by the Chinese, it happened that this *Chinese-Turkish* title was bestowed by the emperors on several of the Jewish “*Synagogue rulers*.”—On this word Dr. Porter Smith, *Vocabulary of Chinese proper names* (1870) writes: *Mwan-lah*, the Mullah, a Mahomedan name used for the Jewish Rabbi at *K'ai-fung fu*. Col. H. Yule, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian words* (1886), s.v. *MOOLLAH*, refers to Hind. *mullâ*, corrupted from the Arabic *maulâ*.—T. de L.
- 2) This is by no means wholly true. The whole atmosphere of the temple (save in its shape) was Chinese. The Priests or Rabbis wore a yellow cap while officiating, and a red umbrella was suspended or held by an attendant over his head. As to music, the Jews chanted; and Gozani, a Roman Catholic missionary in China in the 17th cent. says this chanting reminded him of the Jews of Italy. (See Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*.)
- 3) i.e. the above-mentioned persons, who, according to the writer of this inscription, were “*teachers*” (i.e. of religion)—or perhaps Rabbis.
- 4) In the name *Yen* we again discern a descendant of an original settler.
- 5) The only instance of the kind met with in my researches.
- 6) A.D. 1417 (*Shuang-hue pamphlet*, p. 71).
- 7) He was an imperial officer of the province, and a Jew!
- 8) i.e. the Jewish temple. This “*command*” to “*burn incense*” was to burn it in honor of the emperor, before the Imperial tablet which was set up in the Jewish temple according to custom, as a sign of loyalty.
- 9) It had again suffered from fire or flood.
- 10) See note 11.

(*To be continued*).

A. K. GLOVER.

THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

Contributors are alone responsible for their opinions or statements.

RHYTHMICS OF THE ARABIAN AND MUSSULMAN NATIONS.

1. We have said elsewhere in commencing the survey of the different rhythms, that metre is a *product* of the development of *civilization*, not only in the *authentication* of its rules, but in its very existence, that verse is born little by little of prose, that there are centres of poetry, and that they are those of civilization itself: that in consequence the classification of rhythms is *not adequate* to that of languages and nations. We have here a striking proof.

The Arabic Semitic tongue, the Turkish Altaic tongue, the Persian and Hindustani Aryan tongues, have the same metre: this common metre comes from the Arabic which has communicated it, like its alphabet, like its civilization, like its religion.

The metre, which may be termed indifferently Arabic or Mussulman, presents certain great difficulties, whether it be in its practical application, or in its theoretical explanation.

It perplexes all our ideas.

It is necessary to explain first, without commentaries, its technical and practical rules, then the different systems of theoretical explanation which have been given of it, and lastly, the theory which we believe we can offer.

1. PRACTICAL EXPLANATION.

Arabic metre comprehends like all others: 1st, the *number* of syllables; 2nd, their *value*; 3rd, the *assonances* or *dissonances*, or the rhyme.

A) *Number and value of the syllables.*

Composition of different feet and different verse.

Now, contrary to what takes place in Latin, and agreeably to what is produced in Sanscrit, the feet of the Arabic verse are often very long.

It seems difficult to discover here an *arsis* and a *thesis*, for example in the foot *mäfälätün* = $\text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u} -$.

There are ten original and regular feet, two of five letters, and eight of seven. By letters we mean in Arabic not the vowels, but the consonants only.

These feet are indicated by the different forms of one particular word, —the word *faal*, signifying *to do*, and which serves also in the Arabic grammar as the type of conjugation.

These feet are:

1. *fäälün* = $\text{u} - -$ = the bacchic.
2. *fäälün* = $-\text{u} -$ = the amphimacre.
3. *mäfälün* = $\text{u} - - -$ = the first epitrite.
4. *fälätün* = $- \text{u} - -$ = the second epitrite.
5. *mästäfälün* = $- - \text{u} - -$ = the third epitrite.
6. *mäfilätün* = $- - - \text{u}$ = the fourth epitrite.
7. *mäfälätün* = $\text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u}$ = the iambus and the anapest united.
8. *mitäfälün* = $\text{u} \text{u} - \text{u}$ = the anapest and the iambus.
9. *fäälä-tün* = $- \text{u} | - | -$.
10. *müs | täfi | lün* = $- | - \text{u} | -$.

These two last feet reproduce the 1st and 8th, but have a different origin.

We see that in these feet there is no dactyl, nor anapest, nor spondee nor trochee, nor iambus—none of those which form the foundation of the Greco-Latin metre.

We cannot look upon the first two syllables of *mäfälätün* as an iambus, for it is indivisiblely the anapest, and, to be more exact, there is neither an anapest nor an iambus there.

Yet theoretically the Arab metremakers have separated the groups of two letters called *sabab*, those of three letters called *watad*, and those of four or five letters *fäcila*, but this distinction, useful for the detail of their metrical theory, has nothing to do with the real constitution of their feet.

Such are the feet called *regular*.

Let us add that they are regulated not according to the *accent* as in the German system, but according to the *quantity*, as in the Greco-Latin system.

Besides these regular feet are formed the *irregular feet*, very numerous which are derived from them by cutting off, additions, or changes.

The principal of these changes are:

1st, the irregularity called *ismar*. The foot *mitäfälün* cuts off its

second vowel, and thus becomes *mūtāslūn*, which leads us to say that the foot *vv-uu-* becomes, by changing its two short syllables into a long *---uu-*. In this case there is a *temporary equivalence*, and a simple *derangement* of the rhythmic plan. As the Arabs love to describe the *concrete expression* by a word typical of their different feet, the altered foot is not called *mūtāslūn*, but *māstāslūn*, and this new foot is called *muzmar*, in consequence of its kind of irregularity.

2nd, the irregularity called *asb*.

The foot *māfāilūn* suppresses the sound *ī*, and becomes *māfāältun*, which leads us to say that *u--u-* becomes *u---*, and this new foot they express more elegantly to the Arab ear by the concrete example *māfāilūn*.

Here there is no farther equivalence; *the temporal value of the foot is itself modified*.

3rd, the irregularity *wacf*.

The foot *māfūlātu* becomes *māfūlōn*, which signifies that *----* becomes *--*, that is to say, takes the short final.

4th, the irregularity *Khabn*.

A change from the initial long to short; *-vv-* becomes *vv-*; *-v--* becomes *v--*; *--v-* becomes *v-v-*; *--v* becomes *v---v*.

5th, the irregularity *taiy*.

A change of the second long into a short. *--v-* becomes *v-v-*; *--v* becomes *v--v*.

6th, the irregularity *cabz*.

Suppression of the 5th silent consonant in the feet *māfāilūn* and *fāilūn*, become thus *māfāilūn* and *fāilū*, which is equivalent to the conversion of *v--* into *v-v-*, and of *v-* into *v--v*.

We shall not pursue this enumeration further; we have only wished to make the system understood. Let it suffice here to add that these irregularities number *thirty one*.

A certain number of those changes only affect one and the same foot. It is thus that the foot *fāilūn* can be affected successively by certain irregularities, viz., *tasbig*, *cabz*, *casr*, *hazj*, *salm*, *sarm*, and *batr*; that is to say, becomes *fāilū*, *fāil-l*, *fāilūn*, *fālūn*, *fālū*, and lastly *fā*.

From the constitution of the feet we pass to the constitution of the *hemistich*.

There are nineteen different hemistiches. The five first are peculiar to the Arabs, the three last to the Persians, the others are common to all Mussulman nations.

These hemistiches are composed, some of three *irregular feet*, and

others of four ; there are some of them which are of less number, but then the hemistich remains by itself, and is no longer connected with another to make a verse.

Besides there being the *regular* feet and the *irregular* feet, there are also, *even when all the feet should be regular*, *regular* and *irregular* hemistiches.

There are the regular hemistiches which number 19 ; the others are much more numerous.

This is the list of the regular hemistiches or regular little verses.

1. *Tawil*, composed thus :

$\text{u---} | \text{v---} | \text{v---} | \text{v---}.$

otherwise spoken, following the Arabic technics :

jāūlūn | *mājālūn* | *jāūlūn* | *mājālūn*.

In this hemistich and in all the following of four feet, we see that the *equal feet* are *identical* among themselves, and the *unequal* feet are *identical* among themselves.

2. *Madid*, $-\text{v---} | \text{-v-} | \text{-v---} | \text{-v-}.$

3. *Tacit*, $\text{-v-} | \text{-v-} | \text{-v-} | \text{-v-}.$

In all these hemistiches we see that the equal feet are *shorter* than the irregular feet, and are formed by abridgement.

4. *Kamil*, $\text{v-v-} | \text{v-v-} | \text{v-v-} | \text{v-v-}.$

5. *Waqfir*, $\text{v-v-} | \text{v-v-} | \text{v-v-} | \text{v-v-}.$

6. *Hazaj*, $\text{v---} | \text{v---} | \text{v---} | \text{v---}.$

7. *Rajaz*, $\text{-v-} | \text{-v-} | \text{-v-} | \text{-v-}.$

8. *Raml*, $\text{-v-} | \text{-v-} | \text{-v-} | \text{-v-}.$

In all these hemistiches, all the feet, on the contrary, equal or unequal, are identical.

9. *Sari*, $\text{-v-} | \text{-v-} | \text{-v-}.$

Here there are only three feet, and it is the third which differs from the two others.

10. *Munsarih*, $\text{-v-} | \text{-v-} | \text{-v-} | \text{-v-}.$

Here there is a *temporal equivalence* between the four feet, but the rhythmic *design* varies in each.

11. *Khajif*, $\text{-v-} | \text{-v-} | \text{-v-}.$

A difference only of rhythmic design: correspondence of the unequal feet.

12. *Muzari*, $\text{v---} | \text{-v-} | \text{v---} | \text{-v-}.$

Here a *temporal equivalence*, a difference in *rhythmic design*; the feet correspond, equal with equal, unequal with unequal.

13. *Mucta:ab*, ---v | --v- | ---v | ---v-.

14. *Mujtas*, ---v | -v-- | ---v | -v--.

15. *Mutacarib*, v-- | v-- | v-- | v--.

Here an identity in all the feet.

16. *Mutadarik*, -v- | -v- | -v- | -v-.

17. *Jadid*, -v-- | -v-- | -v--.

Here a difference in the last foot.

18. *Carib*, v--- | v--- | -v---.

19. *Muschakil*, -v-- | v--- | v---.

Here it is the first foot which differs.

This table suggests to us the following observations:

1st. Generally the *equal feet* are identical with each other, likewise the *unequal feet*.

Yet when there are only three feet, it is one alone which differs.

2nd. The equal feet are often an abbreviation of the unequal feet; yet the reverse takes place in the *Tawil*.

3rd. In five verses all the feet are absolutely identical.

4th. In general there is a temporal equivalence in all the feet; yet the opposite occurs in three primitive metres, the *tawil*, the *madiid* and the *bacit*, where the unequal feet are shorter or longer than the equal feet of the value of a long, but we can see in this peculiarity a sort of *catalysis*.

The result, save one catalectic peculiarity, is that the Arabic hemistich may be divided into equal tenses when the regular verses so called are used, that it does vary in each of its feet the rhythmic plan alone, like the Greeks and the Latins who cause the dactyl and the spondee to alternate. Yet here the alternance goes further and equates that which would occur in its place in Latin if the iambus and the trochee, the dactyl and the amphimacre, the amphimacre and the anapest were made to alternate.

As to the *catalysis*, it is here *peculiar*; it no longer passes from verse to verse and from hemistich to hemistich only, but into the interior of the hemistich itself, by the *abbreviation*, in general, of the equal feet.

Such are the *regular hemistiches*.

In what do the *irregular* consist?

The hemistiches are irregular by the irregularity of the metres which compose them. It is certain that the *tawil* which is composed of v--v--- | v-- | v--- becomes in the last foot of the hemistich v--v- instead of v---.

These irregularities are frequent everywhere ; they are to be found most in the last foot of the hemistich, and they are met with even in the first. Then nearly always the hemistich is abridged, the second equal foot is shorter than the first equal foot ; it produces a special catalysis.

We shall see that this catalysis is produced also at the end of the second hemistich, but then it has a special character which we shall particularize further on in treating of complete verse.

The appellation of regular metre and of irregular metre is not very exact ; to justify it, it is necessary to suppose that perfect regularity has existed at the beginning, and that it is by successive derogations that these irregularities have been admitted little by little and like true poetical licenses. On the contrary, we think that the irregularity has preceded the relative regularity, that the prose was modelled and rhymed little by little, as a block which is hewn large because it is to be sculptured and that, to be absolutely correct, it would be necessary to say : *metre not yet made regular*. We shall draw some consequences from this.

We wish here only to cause to appear the impossibility of *exact measure of time* in these irregular metres. We have seen that contrariwise this measure in the regular metres, although approximate only, was possible.

Here are some examples :

In the *Kamil* and *Wajir* metres u-u-u may become u-u- by the dropping of a short, and u-u-u may be changed into u-u- by the same cause

In the *Tawil* the substitutions are numerous, and may be arranged in this form :

1. $\text{u-u} \mid \text{u---} \mid \text{u-}\ddot{\text{u}} \mid \text{u-u-}$
2. $\text{u--} \mid \text{u-u-} \mid \text{u--} \mid \text{u-u-}$
3. $\text{u--u} \mid \text{u---u} \mid \text{u--} \mid \text{u-u-}$
4. $\text{u-u} \mid \text{u-u} \mid \text{u-u} \mid \text{u-u-}$

Except the last foot which is respected, how may u-u often equal u-- and u-u- equal u--- , without the divisions of the tense marked by the first being destroyed by the second ?

In the *Radjaz* also the fundamental foot ---u- is frequently replaced by u-u- or by u-u- or by u-u- , whose rhythmic plan is not only different, but which does not measure the time in the same manner.

If neither the rhythmic plan nor the equal measure of time exists any longer, can poetry be distinguished from prose just by the quantity of the syllables ? And if it distinguished from it, how is it done ? That is

a problem which we shall have to examine soon, but which we only indicate at present.

Let us pass from the feet and from the hemistich to the *entire verse*. The Arabic verse is composed of *two* united *hemistiches*. These two hemistiches are exactly alike; these are the *Kurzzeilen* re-united in *langzeile*.

Thus, while there is disagreement of symmetry between the hemistiches of different verses, there is regularity and agreement, except with some slight exceptions, between the two hemistiches of the same verse. The one is the rhythmic reproduction of the same on other words.

It is that in reality, as we shall show, the two hemistiches are two distinct verses forming a distich, and whose agreement forms exactly the *unity of the verse which can live alone*.

But one frequent exception takes place to this rule, rarely in the commencement of the verse, more frequently at the end.

At the beginning of the first, the first short is sometimes suppressed, while it is not so at the beginning of the second, a light silence ought then to replace the short, if we would not break the *temporal correspondence* and the *continuity of the rhythmic plan*.

At the end of the second hemistich there takes place a phenomenon so frequent as to become nearly normal. The *last foot* is modified, to mark the pause at the end of the verse.

We see in Latin something analogous when the fifth foot is necessarily a dactyl and the sixth a spondee, while the other feet may be indifferently the one or the other.

To mark the *end of the verse* sometimes the last vowel of the final foot is prolonged, sometimes the last syllable of the fundamental foot is cut off and replaced by a silence, sometimes a long is interpolated in the middle of the final foot; then is here a sort of *pause*, when the voice is prolonged *ad libitum*.

We shall not enter into detail of these numerous variations of the last foot of the second hemistich. They have all the same object. They, moreover, render the Arabic verse, when they are produced, sometimes *catalectic*, sometimes *hypercatalectic*.

The *unity of the verse* is constituted, therefore, by the *connection of the two hemistiches*. The connection of likeness gives the internal and isolated constitution of the verse; that of dissimilarity, whether at the beginning of the first hemistich, or at the end of the second, constitutes it externally.

by distinguishing it exactly from the preceding verse, and those which follow.

B) *Assonances and Dissonances.*

This is concerned with the rhyme, and with the rhyme only ; Arabic rhythm knows nothing of alliteration.

It is not only the verses which rhyme with each other, but also very often the hemistiches, which prove that originally the hemistich was an entire verse ; when the hemistiches rhyme together, the rhyme changes at each verse, when they do not rhyme, it is permanent for the whole poem ; moreover, the two hemistiches of the first verse always rhyme together.

The rhyme is constituted by the identity of the consonant and of the vowel which precedes it.

a) *The Consonant.*

The essential letter which constitutes the rhyme is the last consonant which bears the name of *rawi*, but it may include also eight other consonants, four before and four after.

The consonants which may concur in the rhyme and which precede the *rawi* or last consonant are : 1st, the *ridf* or *radf*, that is to say, the *alif* quiescent after a *fatha*, the *waw* quiescent after a *zamma* and *ye* quiescent after a *kesra*, that is to say, the semi-vowels serve as letters of prolongation to the vowels placed before the *rawi* ; 2nd, the *caid*, that is to say, the quiescent consonant, other than the semi-vowels, placed immediately before the *rawi* ; the identity of the *caid* is compulsory, at least a *caid* should be employed whose pronunciation may be by the same organ, as two gutturals, two dentals ; 3rd, the *tacis*, that is to say, the *alif* quiescent before the *rawi*, but followed immediately by a letter supported by a vowel ; 4th, the *dakhil*, which is exactly that letter supported by a vowel, and preceding the *rawi*.

The consonants which concern the rhyme following the *Rawi*, form 1st, the *Wasl*, that is to say, the consonant which immediately follows the *Rawi* ; 2nd, the *Khuradj*, that is to say, the letter which immediately follows the *Wasl* ; 3rd, the *Mazid*, a last consonant or semi-vowel which follows the *Khuradj* ; 4th, the *Nacra*, the consonant which follows the *mazid*. All these letters are the result of the conjugation or of the addition of servile letters.

RAOUL DE LA GRASSERIE.

(*To be continued*).

ORIGIN OF THE EARLY CHINESE CIVILISATION
FROM BABYLONIA, ELAM, & LATER WESTERN SOURCES.
A SUMMARY OF THE PROOFS.

(Continued from Vol. III, p. 223).

CHAP. VII.—ITEMS OF BABYLONIAN, PERSIAN, INDIAN, EGYPTIAN AND GREEK CIVILISATIONS ENTERED INTO ANCIENT CHINA FROM 770 B.C. TO A.D. 220.

I.

97. In the previous chapter³⁶⁵ we have successively examined the various channels through which influences of the civilised Western world may have entered and in reality did enter, into Ancient China, viz.: section *a*) Ancient dynasties of Western origin; *b*) the Jade eastern traffic; *c*) Ancient trade route of the eastern sea-trade; *d*) Ancient trade routes inland, South and South-west, and *e*) the trade of Shuh (Sze-tchuen).

The second part of the same chapter (called section *f*) was occupied with a rapid survey of the general advance in foreign knowledge which was made in China, during the three first periods of its history, namely, 1) from c. 2272, Arrival of the Bak families, who were most probably a blue-eyed ruddy faced and not black haired race,³⁶⁶ from the West, to the Hia dynasty; 2) from the time of the great Yü to the end of the SHANG-YN dynasty, and 3) from the beginning of the Tchou dynasty to their removal to Loh-yang in 770 B.C.

98. There are several additions which further researches³⁶⁷ enable me to make. The Bak families when they established their settlements in N.W. China, knew gold, silver, copper, and tin (or antimony), whose symbols are all traceable to their antecedents in the mother writing of Western Asia.³⁶⁸ They had great difficulty in finding silver in their new country, and the discovery of the obstinate metal (silver=Yn-made of *ken*, obstinate and (*kin*) metal) under the Hia and Yn dynasties has remained historical. They owe their knowledge of iron at the time of the great Yü, to the native populations of North Szetehuen, who were well acquainted with it, and they called it accordingly the Barbarian metal, (*tiet*, iron, written at first *Y*, barbarian, and *kin*, metal), as well as by other names, *tiet* and *lou*, borrowed from the native dialects.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Chinese became acquainted

with the art of Bronze. In 1741 B.C. a branch of the Kun-wus coming from the Kokonor, settled at *Hiu* (Honan, N.), introducing with them the western art of bronze (invented in Asia Minor about 2500 B.C.), which had been carried eastwards through the tin stations of Moshed (in Khorasan), of Kiu-tse (in Eastern Turkestan), and Kokonor. The initial proportions of tin to copper, which increased in the east, and diminished in the west, was 15 per cent.³⁷⁰

99. The introduction of the western art of tempering iron, which I thought to have taken place at the time of the expedition of Muhwang to the west, in the third period (*supra* VI. *f.* 4.), did not happen then.³⁷¹ A due consideration given to the texts on the matter has convinced me that they refer to the Assyrian art of inlaying metal, which was then brought to the knowledge of the Chinese,³⁷² while the other art was not learned by them before several centuries had elapsed.³⁷³

100. As we have not already done so, we must here notice the great literary and political event which had happened towards the end of the third period. It was due to the energy and foresight of *Siuen* the King of Tchou and of his able minister *Sze-tch'ou* in 820 B.C., during a temporary revival of the power of his throne.³⁷⁴ The ancient *Ku-wen* writing, introduced from the West by the Bak families, had diverged to some extent, in the course of centuries, from its original forms and modes of composition; the language had varied, the area of the Chinese dominion was larger than in former times, aboriginal tribes had been absorbed and assimilated, regional variants of the spoken language had arisen, and in consequence, the phonetic spelling of ancient times suggesting a spoken term, uni- or poly-syllabic in one monogram only, simple or complex, which was largely resorted to in the written language, had ceased to be adequate with the requirements. Therefore *Siuen Wang* and *Sze-tch'ou* felt the necessity of obviating possible misunderstandings of the written commands and instructions from the Crown in any part of the Chinese dominion, and they made a bold attempt to do so. Although successful only in a small limit at the time, from want of continuity of power and recognized authority in their hands and those of their successors, the principle they laid down remained, and, followed in later centuries by powerful rulers,³⁷⁵ has given to China her present wonderful writing which is understood everywhere, even in non-Chinese countries, notwithstanding the variety of the spoken languages, and has thus greatly contributed to the unity and greatness of the Chinese Empire. The principle followed by *Siuen Wang* and *Sze-tch'ou* in their recast of a large number of the written characters, was to make them more

ideographic, even more pictorial, and thus to make them more significant to the eyes than before, at the expense of the phonetic suggestion, if necessary. The original number of characters, beyond the wanted additions required by the progress of knowledge, had increased from various sources: 1^o) variants resulting from the gradual neglect of the primary rules of spelling and composition, and the actual ignorance and carelessness of the scribes; 2^o) local variants of the standard forms, entered into the vocabulary with an acquired shade of meaning; 3^o) pictorial equivalents, of difficult or little known standard characters, actually created among the less cultivated part of the Chinese dominion. These various causes of divergencies continued to act after the reform of 820 B.C., and the new standard forms were not regularly obeyed, because of the weakness of the central authority; but as the principle of ideographism, by its suitableness to the environment, had become paramount, the written documents could henceforth be understood everywhere without great difficulty.³⁶⁵ It is only in the sixth period, that we shall have to refer again to the transformation of the written characters.

101. The present chapter is practically the continuation of the second part of the preceding, since we shall continue now our survey of the evolution of Chinese civilisation, began therein for the three first periods. But the importance of the events which occurred after 770 B.C. downwards, the greater supply of documentary evidence, and the everlasting influence which these events have exercised on the subsequent history and present condition of the country, make it necessary to deal with them in a new chapter.

NOTES—

365) The numbers of the paragraphs which have been omitted in printing the previous parts of the present work may be easily ascertained by referring to the final table of contents.

366) A black-haired girl amongst them was looked upon as an extraordinary being at the time of Shun; the ruddy faces of the men and the whiteness of the women's complexions are severally praised in the *Shi King*; the indigo plant was denominated by them the eye-like plant. Cf. my paper on *The Black heads of Babylonia and Ancient China*: B. & O. R. vol. V., pp. 233-246.

367) Contained in my Monograph on *The Metallurgy of the Ancient Chinese*, which, prepared as a chapter of my *Introduction to the Catalogue of Chinese Coins in the British Museum*, was one of the chapters left aside for want of funds (unprovided for in the estimates).

368) In Gold and Tin, cf. B. & O. R. vol. V. pp. 38-39, in T. de L., *From Ancient Chaldaea and Elam to early China*, § 16.—Silver was white metal as in the west; Copper, *tung* is derived from the

original symbol for crucible as in the west. The Rev. C. J. Ball has found independently the derivation of the symbol for gold. Cf. his *Ideogram common to Accadian and Chinese*, P.S.B.A., Dec. 1890.

369) This date like that of 2282, for the settlement of the Bak sings under the leadership of Yu nai hwang-ti (Hu Nakhunte) on the banks of the Loh river in Shensi, in the 50th year of his rule, is calculated from the statements of the Annals of the Bamboo Books; the date of 2332 for the first year of Hwang-ti, verified by Hwang-p'u-mi (*supra*, Ch. III, §12); and that of 1904 B.C., lately verified by astronomy (G. Schlegel, F. Kühnert, *Die Schu-King Finsterniss*. Amsterdam, 1889), together permit a scheme of chronology much more satisfactory than the common scheme built in the XIth century on false astronomical data, or the chronology calculated from the Bamboo Books which has been frequently followed in the previous chapters. I have given a comparative table of the three schemes, so far as the history of money is concerned in my *Numismatic Chronology of Ancient China*, forming the Ch. I. of my *Introduction*, referred to, note 367.

370) The use of special ores of copper led to the discovery of Bronze. For the proofs and details, cf. my Monograph *On the Western discovery of bronze and its introduction in Ancient China*.—The various proportions of tin to copper according to the object required are stated in the *Tchou-li*, Kiv. 41 (ed. Biot, t. II. pp. 491-492). The Analyses of Chinese bronzes hitherto published concern bronze objects of comparatively recent make. Assyrian bronzes contained from 15 to 10 per cent tin.

371) It occurred only in the sixth century, as shown below,

372) For all details and proofs, cf. my paper on *The Metallurgy of the Ancient Chinese*.

373) A few of the items included in the lists forming the fourth chapter, which progress of research has proved to belong to importations of the fourth period will be indicated below.

374) I have called again, after several ancient writers, the attention of scholars to that great event, one of the most remarkable which could be quoted in the general history of writing, in several of my publications: *Early history of the Chinese Civilization*, 1880, p. 15, sq.; *On the history of the Archaic Chinese writing and texts*, 1882 p. 1; *Beginnings of writing around Thibet*, part I., §55; *Le non-monosyllabisme du Chinois Antique*, l'écart entre les langues écrite et parlée d'aujourd'hui, et l'histoire de la langue écrite, 1889, p. 14; and elsewhere.

375) In 227 and 212 B.C., in 165 and 379 A.D.

376) The own written characters of Sze-tch'ou are generally called *ta-tchuen*, Great *tchuen*, and those framed according to his principles *tchuen*, in contra-distinction to the same style reduced and simplified in 227 B.C., which was called *siao tchuen*, i.e., Small *tchuen*. The word *tchuen* means literally curved, and the usual term seal character is only an appropriate rendering.

II. FOURTH PERIOD, 770-481 B.C.

a) The Ages of Wonder-ism.

102. The IVth period begins in 770 B.C. when the capital of the

Tchou dynasty was transferred eastwards to Loh-yh (Loh-yang, Honan), after the death of the previous king through the hands of the Kiuen-jung,³⁷⁷ western barbarians, side ancestors of the Burmo-Nagas tribes of the present day, and it lasts until 481 B.C., when began the internecine wars of the various states of the Chinese dominion contending for the Imperial supremacy. It is one of the most important in the history of Chinese civilisation. Importation by the east and by the south-west of numerous foreign ideas and notions which have had an everlasting influence on the evolution of the Chinese views, moral and religious, and the beginnings of Wonder-ism, Taoism Confucianism and Tao-sze-ism, took place during that period.

The various states and especially the border ones in contact with the outside word, less fettered than previously to accept anything new but through the authoritative channel of their suzerain the King of Tchou, were henceforth open to initiative of their own as well as to innovations introduced by foreigners.

103. The eastern sea-trade which we have noticed in the first part of the present chapter, section *c*, as one of the channels of introduction of foreign items of civilisation has exercised a most remarkable influence³⁷⁸. It was carried by sea traders from the Indian Ocean, who, opposed unsuccessfully after 680 B.C.³⁷⁹ by the small Chinese state of Kiü (in S.E. Shantung) founded around the present gulf of Kiao-tchou, (on the South side of the peninsula), *Lang-ga* which they called after the old Ceylonese *Lanka*³⁸⁰, S. of the gulf, and *Tsih-mieh*, afterwards *Tsih-moh*, their mint-place on the North. They reckoned among them sea-farers from the Arabian sea³⁸¹, but their chiefs were Hindus. One of them named *Kut-lu*, i.e. Gôtra, as shown by the story of a cow connected with his visit, was the object of a grand and unusual reception at the Court of the Prince of Lu (S. Shantung) in 631 B.C.³⁸². They were friendly with the Chinese states and carried on with them extensive relations : their introduction of coinage about 675 was soon imitated by the Prince Hwan of Ts'i, and his able minister Kwan-y-wu. And in later times they established monetary unions for the issue with joint names of coins between themselves and inland Chinese cities³⁸³. They recognized the suzerainty of the Ts'i state in 550 B.C.

104. Astrology and sorcery³⁸⁴ from Chaldaean source, (about 665 B.C.) tinged with Indian views, Elamo-Persian notions, mythological imagery of Egypt, India, and Babylon,³⁸⁵ ideas of transmutation and alchemy,³⁸⁶ amongst other innovations ; and besides coinage and measures³⁸⁷ in

675 B.C. several material progresses such as the western art of tempering iron³⁸⁸, known in 540 B.C., or perhaps before, importation of foreign products such as the Quince-fruit indigenous from Media, *circ.* 660 B.C.³⁸⁹, were successively introduced, (more or less inaccurate and altered as the case may be) by them into China during that period. The character of their knowledge was not refined, and belonged properly to the wonder-mongering spirit that could be expected from sea-traders of that age.

105. It is through their channel that the following data came into the Chinese literature.

- A hybrid list of names of the twelve Babylonian months³⁹⁰;
- A list of ten names which may be that of the old Semitic months³⁹¹;
- A Babylonian list of twelve Zodiacaal names³⁹²;

These three items were chiefly used for astrological purposes and they do seem to have been adopted to that service by the sea traders in question previously to their introduction into China.

All these lists communicated orally to the Chinese scribes were transliterated by them as approximately as they could. They differ in their outwards aspect from the data of early date imported by the Bak families about 2282 B.C., such as the cycles of 10 and 12, and many others noticed in our chapter IV, *a*) sciences and art, which are thus disengaged of several of the suspicious items which have crept among them.

106. We must also ascribe to the same influence :

- One peculiar superstition, such as the idea of exposing in the sun rays to the mercy of heaven, in time of draught, an emaciated person dying of thirst and hunger³⁹³; known in the state of Lu in³⁹⁴, 639 B.C.;
- The annual practice of “giving a wife in Marriage to the river god Ho-peh” in throwing in the river a well-favoured Maiden, which well established at Yeh³⁹⁵ (pres. Tchang-teh fu, N. Honan) in the state of Wei, was suppressed after 424 B.C., by a new governor named Si-men Pao³⁹⁶;
- The fire-worship which was established sometime before 564 and 541 in the state of Sung³⁹⁷ (Honan, E.) where it was connected with astrology³⁹⁸;
- The remarkable dualist worship which was established in Tcheng (Honan, E.) in³⁹⁹, 524 B.C., to *Hwei-luh*, god of light and fire, and *Hien-ming*, god of darkness and water⁴⁰⁰, then known in Chinese mythology for the first time⁴⁰¹.

107. Several men of importance are mentioned in history as having promoted the astrological doctrines introduced and propagated by the active traders of the Lang-ya colony. Four of them are conspicuous;

namely : Sze yoh, whom we see giving astrological explanations to the duke of TSIN (Shansi S.) in 564 B.C.⁴⁰² ; Tze Tch'ang who died in 521 B.C., a younger son of duke Tch'eng (reigned 584-571 B.C.) of the state of TCHENG (Honan C.) where he occupied a high position and became finally chief Minister for 26 years before his death⁴⁰³ ; Tze Shen, in SUNG (Honan E.) in 545 and 522 B.C.⁴⁰⁴. And Tch'ang Hwang in TCHOU (Honan W., Shensi S.E.) who flourished in 550-492 B.C. ; Szema-Tsien says of him that he was acquainted with all matters concerning the gods and spirits, and that the sayings about the wonderful amongst the people of TCHOU date from his teachings⁴⁰⁵.

108. These four men may be looked upon as the real founders of the Tao-sze-ism⁴⁰⁶, and were the immediate predecessors of Lieh-tze and Tchwang-tze whom we shall have to refer to in our survey of the next period. We must now examine where was the fountain head of the singularly mixed influence introduced by these foreigners of Lang-ya, influence which continued for several centuries and displayed later on a curious and instructive transformation. But during the sixth century, while this activity was going on in Shantung and the states in the vicinity, another influence of a higher standard had reached the Middle Kingdom by the South-west route, and introduced several innovations ; the most striking was a certain amount of Hindu thoughts which have deeply tinged the great philosophical work of the period, i.e. the *Tao teh king* of Lao-tze (604-520 B.C.). We shall have to enquire on the important subject of the beginning of Taoism in a subsequent section, and afterwards on that of Confucianism.

NOTES—

377) On the Jungs, cf. J. H. Plath, *die fremden barbarischen stämme in Alten China*, München, 1874, pp. 477-495 ; and T. de L., *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, par. 28, 150, 172.

378) The Rev. J. Edkins was, I think, the first to point out the introduction of Babylonian astrology and imagery in China about that time and the great movement of thought which ensued, through the ancient navigation in the Indian Ocean, and I am indebted to him for several suggestions. But he was mistaken in several of his premises which he had not worked out ; he knew nothing of the opening of the Shantung sea-trade about 680 B.C., nor of the Hindu colonies in Pegu about 500 B.C. He assumed without proof that a Babylonian sea trade to Indo-China had existed from remote date, which assumption is against scientific evidence. On the other hand he wants to begin astrology in China about 806 B.C., without any serious proof, which is too early by far, and he thinks that it could have reached the Chinese in the South of China, where they were not, inland through Indo-China,

which is not the case, as shown forcibly in my present work. I am not sure that the following list of Dr. Edkins papers and communications on the matter is complete: *Babylonian Origin of Chinese astronomy and astrology*, *China Review*, 1885, XIV, 90-95; *Babylonian Astronomy*, *ibid.*, 104; *Astrology in Ancient China*, *ibid.* 345-52; *The introduction of Astrology in China*, *ibid.* 1886, XV, 126-23; *Chinese Mythology and Art*, *The Academy*, July 12, 1884: *Ancient navigation in the Indian Ocean*, *J.R.A.S.* 1886, XVIII, 1-27; *When did Babylonian Astrology enter China*, *Pr. S.B.A.*, Dec. 7, 1886, 32-39; *The relations of the Persian and Chinese Calendars*: *China Review*, 1887, XVI, 95-98; also *The Yh king as a book of divination*, *J.R.A.S.* 1884, XVI, 360 sq.

379) Cf. *Tso tchuen*, 2, 1: 4.—Hoh Tehih, *Tsih moh hien tchi*, 1763, Kiv. I, f. 3.

380) Vide *supra* par. 44; and note 25 of my paper: *How in 219 B.C. Buddhism entered China*. B.&O.R. V, 105.

381) *Tsih-moh*, seems to have been called after the emporia of *Safar*, *Sophar*, *Zabar*, of the coasts in the Arabian sea. *Suppara* of the W. Coast of India, *Zabaj* of N.W. Jara. *Zabai* of Indo-China, all names surviving or locally adapted from a common original. Moreover we find a proof of that in their Babylonian astrology,

382) He was chief of the *Kiai* foreigners, near Lang-ya, on the south side. Cf. *Tso-tchuen*, 5, xxix, 1 and 5.

383) Cf. my introduction to the *Catalogue of Chinese coins* in the British Museum, ch. I and VII.

384) This sorcery appeared I think for the first time in 662 B.C. (cf. *Tso tchuen*, 3, XXXII, 2). Astrology was not known in China, in 710, 669, nor even in 661 B.C., all dates where it should have been resorted to, if known then Cf. *Tso tchuen*, under these years. Besides divining by the tortoise shell or the millfoil, the chief means of forecasting events were onomancy and palmistry. Astrology appears rather abruptly in 655 B.C. when Yen the state diviner of Tsix quotes as childish ditties (*tung yao*) an astrological answer concerning a project of his Prince, given by some adept of the new doctrines. The native exegetes in taking the expression *tung yao* as meaning "the children have a sang which says" are certainly at fault here, as children could not have made such a thing. Astrology took gradually its place as a mode of forecasting events. An instance occurs in 564 B.C. in the same state of Tsix (Shansi); it was followed by subsequent statements in 545, 540, etc., which show that the belief had become well established in the above state and in those of TCHENG (Honan C.) SUNG (Honan E.), and in others. The twelve principal states of the Chinese dominion were, each, placed under the superintendance of one of twelve zodiacal signs whose names appear then for the first time as we shall see below (note 392). Amongst these states are those of TCHENG which begin in 806 B.C., and of Tsi's (Shensi) which began in 770 B.C., while the name of the state of YUEH which did not appear before 537 B.C. was added either to that of YEN under *Tcheh-muh*, or to that of Wu, under *Sing ki*. As the latter state appears for the first times in history in 584 B.C. amongst the states the astrological arrangement must have been made between 584 and 564 B.C.—At the time of the Han dynasty some gaps have occurred and the attribution

of several names forgotten ; they were restored by Tcheng-hiuen (A.D. 127-200) in his commentary of the *Tchou-li*, xxvi. 20 : and also in the *Tien-yuen lih li* of *Siu-fah* (A.D. 1682), with slight differences. Dr. J. Edkins, *Ancient Navigation in the Indian Ocean*, J.A.R.S. 1881, XVIII, 12, has quoted only the latter's list, and holds the view that the astrological attribution of the states may have taken place in 806 B.C. because the list begins by TCHENG, but this is no proof since we have not the original list, and the later writers have began it as they used to do in enumerating the 28 *siuh*; cf. also a rejoinder made on other grounds in the *China Review*.

385) As the mythological imagery became prominent only during the next period we shall postpone till then our enquiry on the question.

386) These notions came into effect at the end of the next period; they were too crude and vague before.

387) The coins were cast on the double basis of the light Babylonian *Mina* as unit of weight, and of the Babylonian empan of 27 mm. as unit of length. Cf. the chapter VI on *Weights and Measures*, in the *Introduction* of my *Catalogue of Chinese coins in the British Museum*.

388) This art was known in Shantung about 540 B.C. but not yet in the states more south : cf. my monograph *On Ancient Chinese Metallurgy*.

389) An ode of the *Shi-king* I, 5, X.) composed about 660 B.C. in WEI (Tchihli S.W.) praises the *Muh Kua* or quince fruit (not the *ppapaya* now so called in South China and introduced from America). The quince tree, indigenous in Media, is highly valued all over the east for its cardinal virtues, and its fruits are to this day the object of an important traffic from the Persian gulf to the Bay of Bengal. It was then introduced in the China by the sea trade of Lang-ya. Cf. for the details and proofs my monograph on *The Quince-fruit from Media to China*, 660 B.C.

390) The names of the cycle of twelve, which were part of the knowledge of the Bak sings, were those of the Babylonian *Zodiae*, on which cf. my letter in the Academy, Oct. 11, 1890, *The Zodiac and cycles of Babylonia and their Chiness derivations* ; while the full names which appear in the *Erh-ya* and *She ki* are those of the twelve Babylonian months. The entry of ch. IV, section a, and note 45, must be altered and completed as above. See next note.

391) This is the list which appears, with the preceding, in the *Erh-ya*, and in the *She ki*, but with greater divergences which however are not too broad not to be explained as transliterations from oraldictation. Mr. E. Chavannes, in his interesting paper on *Le Calendrier des Yin* (Journal Asiatique, Nov.-Dec. 1890) about the terms of the duodenary series, simple formula of good Omen, remarks p. 479, that the oldest instance of their use occurs in the *Kwoh-yu*, in the ninth year of Kon tsien of Yueh (496-465 B.C.) i.e. 488 B.C. (not 479 as he states erroneously.)—The duodenary list has been applied in a clumsy way to the duodenary cycle of Jupiter, and Dr. J. Chalmers in his paper *On the Astronomy of the Ancient Chinese* (append. in J. Legge, Chinese Classics, vol. III, 1865) has remarked that the term *sheht'i-koh*, ancient *Shepti* and *Koh*, which *Shepti* is said by Szema-Tsien to be Jupiter, in Sanskrit *Vrishaspati*, may be an approximate transcription of the Indian name. On the other hand, I have pointed above. ch. IV, a, note 45, the ob-

vious derivation of these names from a hybrid list of those of the Babylonian months, and the clear identity of SHEPTI with SHEBAT. Since they have been introduced into China in the sixth century only, and as astrological terms through the Indianised sea-traders of Lang-ya, the two statements are easily reconcileable. The outwards resemblance of *shebat* with *vrishaspati* may have been one of the reasons which induced these astrologers to apply the full list to the cycle of Jupiter.

392) This list is that of the twelve *ts'e*, otherwise zodiacal signs which appear in Chinese literature in connection with the astrology beginning in the seventh century and not otherwise. Seven of them are mentioned in the *Tso-tchuen*, six of these seven, and four more are given in the *Erh-ya*. The *Shun ho*, i.e. the eleventh of the Chinese list, is mentioned in the *Tso tchuen* in 655 (5, VI, 9).—Compared with readings of the twelve Babylonian signs of the months, they present the following concordance :

Bab. 1. <i>shara</i> , chief	=	<i>shou</i> , head, 10. Chinese.
„ 2. <i>gu</i> ,	=	<i>ho</i> 11. „
„ 3. <i>mur</i> ,	=	<i>wi</i> 12. „
„ 4. <i>shu</i> ,	=	<i>shou</i> 1. „
„ 5. <i>bil</i> , fire	=	<i>ho</i> , fire, 2. „
„ 6. <i>gi</i> , look	=	<i>ki</i> , annals, 3. „
„ 7. <i>du</i> ,	=	<i>tche</i> 4. „
„ 8. <i>engar</i> , digging	=	<i>hiuen hiao</i> , dark hole, 5. „
„ 9. <i>gan</i> (KISLIVU)	=	<i>kiang lou</i> 7. „
„ 10. (TEBITU)	=	<i>tsü TZE</i> 6. „
„ 11. <i>ash</i>	=	<i>ta liang</i> 8. „
„ 12. <i>she kin</i>	=	<i>shi tchin</i> 9. „

The concordance fails only for the 8 and also for the 6 of the Chinese list : the latter's names for 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12 are double instead of simple but the additional symbol does not impair the value of the other symbol.

393) The first instance is mentioned in the state of *Lu*, in 639 B.C. (*Tso tchuen*). In the *Li-ki*, II, 11, iii, 29, the Duke Muh of *Lu* (409-377 B.C.) is said to have made a similar proposal which was reprobated.

394) The practice however does not seem to have ever obtained any hold there, and is not known in any other part of the country.

395) *She-ki*, kiv. 126, ff. 14-16.—W. F. Mayers, *Chinese R. M.*, I, 172. —The god was represented as a man with four faces driving in a fairy chariot drawn by two dragons. Cf. *Shan hai king*, (text and gloss) kiv. 12, f. 3. His name has been assimilated to that of a certain *Ho-peh*, spoken of as an ally of the Chinese in that region, under the reigns of HIA Ti Mang, 1st year, and his successor Ti Sieh, 16th year, in the *Tchuh shu ki nien*; i.e. about 1813 and 1781 according to the rectified scheme of chronology. *Ho-peh*, i.e. *Ho-pak* was perhaps a local substitution of *Oh-pak*, a god of fire and whose worship we hear in 540 B.C. in the *Tso tchuen* in connection with fire worship, introduced in the state of Sung, apparently not long before, from the foreign source we are studying.

396) The exact year of the suppression is not stated ; as Szema-tsien says simply that Simen-Pao, was the chief officer of *Yeh* during the

reign of the Marquess Wen of Wei who ruled from 424 to 387 B.C.
393) *Tso tchuen*, under those dates.

399) *Tso-tchuen*, 10, XVIII, 2.

400) *Hien-ming*, litt., : Dark-obscurity.—Once entered into their pantheon, this deity has been connected with a certain *Siu* or *Hi* said to have been a son of Shao Hao, and Superintendent of Water under Tchuan-hiu (2227 B.C.) by the authors of the Han dynasty. Cf. *Khang hi tze tien*, s.v. *ming*, 14+8, f. 22 v., and *Sacred Books of the East*, XXVII, *The Li ki*, vol. I, p. 296.

401) It is difficult not to be struck by the outward resemblance of these two names, as far as permitted by the Chinese orthoepy with those of Ahura-Mazda and Anro-Mainyus. Cf. *Huei-luh* which has no meaning in Chinese; cf. also *Anro-Mainyus*, with *Hien ming*, anciently *hun-meng*. The Persians were ruling in Babylonia since 538 and on the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf for some time previously.

402) *Tso tchuen*, 9, IX, 1.

403) Cf. *Tso tchuen*, Ann. 565, 543, 541, 533, 532, and pass.—A short biography of this clever man is given in W. T. Mayers, *Chinese R.M.* I, 730, and more fully in T. Watters, *A guide to the Tablets in a Temple of Confucius*, Shanghai 1879, pp. 35-37. His tablet was admitted in the temple in 1857, which is rather surprising if we consider his astrological performance of 541 B.C. Szema Tsien, *She ki*, kiv. 129 has written his biography.

404) *Tso tchuen*, Ann. 545 and 522 B.C.

405) There are several references to this man in history. Szema Tsien, *She-ki*, kiv. 28, f. 7 v. says that Tch'ang-Huang gave his services to the king Ling of Tchou (whose reign ended in 544 B.C.) At that time the Princes used to come no more to the court of Tchou, whose power was on the wane. Tch'ang-Hwang who was proficient in all matters concerning gods and spirits, shot arrows on a *pu-lai*'s head, otherwise a fox's head which symbolised the *pu-lai*, or non-coming of the Princes. He hoped that this ceremony would have contrived them to come, but they did not yield. Afterwards a man of Tsin seized Tch'ang-Huang and killed him. The wonder sayings of the people of Tchou began with Tch'ang-Huang.—In the *Tso tchuen*, Ann. 492, par. 5, it is stated that he was put to death in that year by the people of Tchou.—Tchuang-tze says: X, 2, Tch'ang-Huang was ripped open; and in XXVI, 1: "Tch'ang-Huang died in Shu, where the people preserved his blood for three years, when it became changed like green jade."

406) Tao-sze-ism which has already been used by several continental scholars is used here as a convenient designation of the wonder-mongering school which has absorbed and transformed the philosophical Taoism of Lao-tze.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

(*To be continued*).

NOTES AND NEWS.

Mr. Jacques de Morgan, who has been since appointed to the Directorship of the Ghizeh Museum, has made in his last exploration in Persia, an important find of cuneiform inscriptions. The largest one, from Seripul, is a monument of the victories gained in that region by a king of Lalubi, named Annabani, and from the text of the inscription, the place where it has been found was called mount Batir.

A second inscription was engraved on a rock, at 108 kilom. northwards of the preceding, near the Sheikh Khan village. A King (name lost) had his image placed there; a Chaldaean governor, long afterwards, named Tar...dunni, son of Sinipnah, had it restored, and added a commemorative inscription of the fact. The two inscriptions have been translated by P. V. Scheil. In style, the two bas-reliefs and two inscriptions are archaic. Compared to those of Gudea, they are certainly older, and are looked upon by some, as the most ancient Chaldaean monuments hitherto discovered.

Mr. J. Pognon, French Consul at Bagdad, has found by chance the country formerly known as Ashnunak. Some bricks bear names of unknown princes such as 1) Ibalpil; 2) Un-an-nin-is-gi-da (?); 3) Nulaqu or Gulaqu; 4)-ma-shu.

Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie has unearthed at Tel el-Amarna fragments of cuneiform tablets, which Prof. Sayce has examined on the spot. Among them are some lexical documents, part of a sort of comparative dictionary of two or four different languages explained in Babylonian at length. Another work was a dictionary of Sumerian and Babylonian, *in which the pronunciation of the Sumerian is given* as well as their ideographic representation. Thus the Babylonian *risāpu* and (di)kate are stated to be the equivalents not only of the ideographic GAZ-GAZ, but also of the phonetically written *ga-az-ga-az*, thus showing the comparatively late date at which Akkado-Sumerian ceased to be a spoken language, as advocated by Prof. Sayce and Prof. Oppert.

The influence produced on the evolution of the Chinese civilization by the sea traders of the Erythraean and Indian seas in Shantung, whose first arrivals are recorded in the present number, was most remarkable. Persian notions, such as those of the dualistic worship and of five sorts of fire, yielded gradually to others entirely Hinduic in character. The worship of the eight Vasus was established about 386 B.C. all over the state of Ts'i in Shantung. The Cosmogony, including the Sakwala and Sumeru schemes, was fully explained in the teachings of Lieh-tze and in those of Tsou yen (cf. notably on the latter, *She Ki*, Kiv, 74, f. 2, 3). This maritime intercourse, for some unexplained causes, ceased in the middle of the fourth century; but the legend of the Five, after Three, Fortunate islands, conceals some information about the route followed from India to the Yellow sea. And as to the great movements of thought which occurred at that time, the Wonderism of Shantung and Taoism of Honan, which caused the appearance of Confucianism, fused together and became the Taoszism. —T. de L.

END OF VOL. V.



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